DANA IN THE HISTORY OF KARNATAKA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD 1336 – 1646 A.D.

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

I **Amith Manohar Naidu.,** certify that this thesis is the result of Research Work done by me, under the supervision of **Dr.N.Saraswathi,** Professor, Department of Studies in History, Manasagangothri, University of Mysore, Mysore. I am submitting this thesis for possible award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) degree in History of the University of Mysore.

I further certify that this thesis has not been submitted by me for award of any other degree/diploma of this or any other University.

Signature of Doctoral Candidate

Signed by me on …………………

Signature of Guide Date:	Counter Signed by Date:

Signature of Chairman Head Department/
Institution with -------- and Office Seal

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I certify that I have guided and supervised for the preparation and writing of the present thesis entitled **"Dana in the History of Karnataka with special reference to Vijayanagara period 1336-1646 A.D"** by **Amith Manohar Naidu,** who worked on this subject in the Department of Studies in History, University of Mysore, Manasagangothri, Mysore-570 006.

This thesis has not been submitted previously for the award of any Degree or Diploma of any University. In my opinion, it is satisfactorily prepared and may be accepted in fulfillment of the conditions prescribed by the University of Mysore.

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ARTICLE PUBLISHED LETTER

This is to certify that **Mr.Amith Manohar Naidu**, Research Scholar, Department of Studies in History, Manasagangothri, University of Mysore has published an articles entitled **"Varadadevi Ammana Pattana during Vijayanagara Period" Vol.44, 2010, ISSN No. 1941-2681,** in the journal of historical studies, Department of Studies in History, Manasagangothri, Mysore.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ag – Arakalagud	:	Nl – Nelamangala
Ak – Arasikere	:	Nr – Nagar
An – Anekal	:	Pg – Pavagada
Bg – Bagepalli	:	Sa – Sagar
Bl – Belur	:	Sb – Sravanabelagola
Bn – Bangalore	:	Dv – Devanahalli
Bp – Bowringpet	:	Gb – Gubbi
Cb – Chikballapur	:	Gd – Goribidnur
Cd – Chitradurg	:	Gu – Gundlupet
Cg – Coorg	:	Hg – Heggadedevanakote
Ch – Chamarajanagar	:	HK – Holalkere
Ci – Channagiri	:	Hl – Honnali
Ck – Chikkanayakana Halli	:	Hn – Hassan
Cl – Challakere	:	Hr – Hirivur
Cm – Chikkamagalur	:	Ha – Hunsur
Cn – Channarayapattana	:	Ht – Hosakote
Ct – Chintamani	:	Jl – Jaglur
Db – Doddaballapura	:	Kd – Kadur
Dg – Davanagere	:	Kg – Kunigal
Kn – Kankanahalli	:	Kl – Kolar
Kp – Koppa	:	Kn – Krishnarajanagar
Kr – Krishnarajpet	:	Sg – Shringeri
Ma –Magadi	:	Si – Sira
Mb – Mulbagal	:	Sp – Srinivasapur
Md – Mandya	:	Sb – Sorab
Mg – Mudgere	:	Sd – Sidlaghatta
Mi – Maddagiri	:	Sh – Shimoga
Mj – Manjarabad	:	Sk – Shikaripur

Mk – Molakalmur	:	Sr – Srirangapattana
Ml – Malavalli	:	Tk – Tarikere
Mr – Malur	:	Tl – Thirthahalli
My – Mysore	:	Tm – Tumkur
Ng Nagamangala	:	Tp – Tiptur
Nj – Nangangud	:	Yl – Yelandur

E.C.	-	Epigraphia Carnatica
E.I.	-	Epigraphia Indica
I.A.	-	Indian Antiquary, Bombay
K.L.	-	Karnataka Inscriptions
M.A.R.	-	Mysore Archaeological Report
M.E.R	-	Mysore Epigraphical Report
A.I.I.	-	South Indian Inscriptions
T.D. Inaps	-	Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions
T.D.E.R.	-	Tirumali-Tirupati Epigraphical Report
M.V.	-	Madhuravijayam
A.R.S.I.E.	-	Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy
A.R.I.E.	-	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
A.S.I.	-	Archaeological Survey of India
F.E.	-	Forgotten Empire
M.G.	-	Mysore Gazetteer
Insps. Of A.P.	-	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh
A.R. of M	-	Annual Report of Madras Presidency
Mac. Mass	-	Mackanzie's manuscript
I.C.	-	Islamic Culture, Hyderabad
Q.J.M.S.	-	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore
Heras A.D.V.	-	Heras H. Aravidu Dynasty, Vijayanagar

N.V.R. STDV	-	Venkataramanayya. Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar
ASIDGA'S Report 1981-82	-	Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report of Director General
Kd. Rm	-	Kridabhiramam
Hr. Vi	-	Harivilasam
Sv. Mh	-	Sivaratri Mahatyam
Pn. Cr	-	Parvata Prakaranam
Sk. Cr	-	Sodasakumary Charitamu
Rk. Cr	-	Rukmangada Charitamu
Bj. Rj	-	Bhojarajiyamu
Kr. Kh	-	Kasikhandamu
Pv. Cr	-	Palanativira Charitra
Sm. Dv	-	Simhasanadvathrimsika
Sr. Sa	-	Sringara Sakuntalum
KKC	-	Karnataka Kavi Charitre
Amukta	-	Amuktamalyada
Barbosa	-	The Book of Duratte Barbosa, Trd. With Notes etc., by Longworth Dames, 2 Vols.
Further Sources	-	Further Sources of Vijayanagara History
Sources	-	Sources of Vijayanagara History by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar
E and D	-	Elliot, H. M. and Dowson, John. The History of India as told by its own Historians, 8 Vols. London, 1867-77.
Major, India	-	Major, India in the Fifteenth Century
Iban Batuta	-	The Rahla of Ibn Batuta
Krishnadeva Raya	-	Also referred to Krishnaraya
Achyutadeva Raya	-	Also referred as Achyutaraya
Tirumaladevi	-	Sr. Queen of Krishnadeva Raya is also

		referred as Tirumalajidevi, Tirumaladevi Amma, Tirumaladeviyaru, Tirumaladeviammavaru
Chinnadevi	-	Jr. Queen of Krishnadeva Raya is also Referred as Chinnajidevi, Chinnadevi Amman, Chinnadeviyaru, Chinnajideviammavaru
Varadajidevi	-	Queen of Achyutadeva Raya is also referred as Varadajidevi Amman, Varadadevi, Varadamba, Varadambika Varadadevi Amman.

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CHAPTER - I
DANA IN THE HISTORY OF KARNATAKA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD 1336 – 1646 A.D.

1.0 Introduction

Vijayanagara is a resounding name both of a kingdom and of its capital. Being the cradle of Empires, through Vijayanagara, South India has not only glorified its history but also enriched the annals of India. The traditional argument that the Vijayanagar Empire was built as a challenge of 'Hindu India' against Islamic invaders, has been questioned seriously by several scholars. The Vijayanagar state is no more looked upon as a Hindu theocratic state, rather as a secular state emerged out of the specific material conditions that existed in the peninsular India.

The History of Vijayanagar is one of the most fascinating periods in the south Indian History. The Empire was founded by the famous Sangama brothers, Harihara and Bukka, on the banks of river Tungabhadra in 1336. A.D. and was ruled by the four different dynasties. The Sangamas, the Saluvas, the Tuluvas and the Aravidus. Vijayanagar period occupies a unique place in the social and cultural history of south India. It was during this period that a political entity comprising the entire peninsular region to the south of the river Krishna was created. A strong economic base was established and an efficient system of law and order was provided by the Vijayanagar rulers from the point of view of social history, it offers a varied picture of social life. The empire was founded with the Ideal of protecting, propagating and promoting Hindu Dharma in all its aspects. The revival of Hindu Dharma has its effects on social groups in south India. We notice both orthodox and heterodox movement in society. The coming of Islam to south India as a cultural force was another important development. With the advent

of Portuguese in 1498, the Christianity as a culture force was visible in different parts of South India.

1.1 Historical Background

With this administrative machinery the Vijayanagara made an attempt to establish a healthy society throughout the period. The surplus income of the royal resources and the booty of warfare were donated whole heartedly to the people in the form of giving gifts to establish a healthy society. The upper strata often appeared as generous donors in the Inflictions of the period under study. Offering Gifts to the people at large was a popular form of distributive technique that was practiced and inherited by their predecessors and officials at various levels. In fact donations were given on precious occasions such as while the kings returning from their glorious victory at the time of construction of temples, tanks, celebration of the coronation, festivals etc., the Tirumalai Tirupati temples, the premier temple of the Vijayanagara period received the largest of the royal benefactions and public donations.

Most of the Vijayanagara Inscriptions in one way or the other visualized the concept of Dana or Gifts. Offering Dana or gift was an age-old practice. Each and every inscription of the Vijayanagara in general, through imprecatory verses laid stress on the importance of giving and protecting gifts as long as the sun and moon endure. The Vijayanagara donors considered the giving of gifts not only as a meritorious service but also an act of piety. The donors gave gifts with deep religious sentiment and colour. While giving gifts much care was taken in maintaining the principle of Dharma, Virtue and truth. They created awareness among the people to be familiar with regard to the rules and regulations, restrictions and limitations with regard to the record to gifts. The gifts were recorded in the epigraphs of the said period. Gifts to temples were

in the form of lands, villages, income from villages, proceeds from the remission of taxes, ornaments, cloth articles etc.

A special feature of Dana in Hinduism is the conspicuous absence of the sense of obliging or helping the receiver on the part of the donor and the feeling of being obliged or cringing on the part of the receiver or donee. This is because of the feeling that the donee is obliging the donor to get punya or religious merit, by accepting his gifts and on the part of the donor a feeling that he is doing a religious duty by giving the gift. The concept viz Dana as an instrument of state policy in a way constitutes the central theme of the present work.

1.2 Survey of Sources

An in-depth study of the history of Vijayanagara requires familiarity with diverse sources of information and proper evaluation of the same. History is based upon sources and without sources we cannot reconstruct the history of the past. The Inscriptions on Vijayanagar history are generally found engraved on stone and copper plates and composed in different languages. Incidentally, Inscriptions give an account of the political, social, economic and religious conditions of the said period. We have nearly 22,000 inscriptions of the said period. Inscriptions forms an important source material for the said period, apart from inscriptions we have numismatics, monuments, foreign traveler's accounts and literature throw light on the said period.

1.3 Archaeological Sources

India is very rich in epigraphical wealth and the vast inscriptional material has been the surest ground on which her ancient past could be reconstructed. Epigraphy is the study of inscriptions. Inscriptions form the most important part of the source material. It must, however, be

admitted in the beginning that the original purpose in issuing these inscriptions was not be provide us with historical information. These inscriptions related to gift deeds, registering grant of land or money to temples or of agraharas to brahmans, made either by kings, their ministers, generals, courtiers, or by private individuals. Some of these record the construction of the temples or repairs effected to temples, the setting up of idols and daily worship in the temples. These inscriptions generally mention the name of the king or the governor, holding power over the locality at the time of gift besides giving full particulars of the date on which the gift was made. The introductory portion to these gifts and grants known as 'prashasti', generally contains the ancestory of the grantors, if the grantors were kings, ministers of generals. These inscriptions enable us to know about the genealogy and chronology of the kings.

The inscriptions on Vijayanagara history are generally found engraved on stone and copper-plates and are composed in different language-Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada; incidentally, inscriptions give an account of the political social, economic and religious conditions of that period. The inscriptions of the respective ruling dynasties constitute the most important source. Inscriptions shed light on social conditions – the division of society into castes and sub-castes, the occupation of the people, the system of education, the position of woman, the popular festivals, religious practices and ceremonies and several other matters connected with social life.

Inscriptions written on copper-plates generally register the grant of agraharas or lands to Brahmanas who were well versed in Vedic lore and shastras. These copper plate records are found in the language, like Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. Each set of copper-plate inscriptions may contain three, four or even five plates according to the

requirements of the occasion. Stone inscriptions record the gifts made in kind or cash to temples, either by kings or their officers or private individuals.

The chief credit of laying the foundations of intensive and extensive study of inscriptions must necessarily go to the untiring efforts of the two eminent epigraphists. Dr. Fleet J.F. and Rice B.L. The twelve volume of Epigraphia Carnatica published by Rice B.L. is of great significance. In addition to these, the texts of many inscriptions have been published, with helpful notes and in many cases, English translations, in the ages of Mysore Archaeological Report (1906-1956), Epigraphia Indica (1887 onwards) the South Indian Inscriptions series. The Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, has published five volumes entitled 'Karnataka Inscriptions' which contain a good number of inscriptions belonging to the old Bombay-Karnataka regions.

The government of Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Travancore in their epigraphical series have published a large number of inscriptions. Apart from these numerous inscriptions, with texts and useful notes, have appeared in the pages of learned journals and periodicals, notably the journals of some of the branches of the Royal Asiatic Society, Indian Antiquary, etc.

An inscription from Badami shows that in A.D. 1340 Harihara I was wielding power in Badami area north of the Tungabhadra and he is described as "the Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas".

The Sringeri Inscription of A.D. 1346, which describes the visit of the five Sangama brothers to this religious centre to celebrate their historical achievement of subjugating the enemies, is of great value as it proves beyond doubt that these chiefs by this time has completed the

work of founding the new kingdom. The Shravanabelagola inscription of Bukka I, dated 1368, makes known the religious catholicity promoted by the rulers and the protection given to the minorities in the empire. Nellore district Inscriptions by Butterworth, report on the inscriptions of Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam by Subramanya Shastri, Madras Gazetteer, Mysore Gazetteer, Hydrabad Gazetteer, from these Epigraphical sources one can cull out information pertaining to the political, social, economic and religious history of this period.

1.4 Literary Sources

Archaeological evidence can at best furnish only the dry bones of history. It is literature that supplies the blood and flesh, which is so necessary to reconstruct the picture of society in all its essentials. The literary evidence supplements our knowledge gained through the inscriptional evidence. It enables to reveal many social and religious activities in which the historical characters moved. Literature affords valuable glimpses of the social and economic life of the people, though often in a more idealistic than realistic manner. Literary sources fall into two categories. The first category includes in its Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu works. Besides the number of chronicles written by the Persian scholars, other Muslim travelers and also the accounts of European travelers form the second category.

The Indian literary evidence for the history of Vijayanagara is accessible in two collections of select sources brought out by the University of Madras. Since the monarchs of Vijayanagara are referred to in their inscriptions as the followers of the ancient constitutional usage (Purvada Maryade), the literary works of Pre-Vijayanagara period also are of great value of them mention may be made of Vijayanagara's Mitakshara, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Manu's Dharmashastra and

Shukraniti, which besides dealing with the varied aspects of the people, refers to details concerning the economic activities of the people, and the royal patronage in promoting these activities.

A large number of works in Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu can be studied for a better understanding of life in Vijayanagara.

Sanskrit Work, Madhuravijayam or Kamparaya Charitam, an outstanding work composed by Gangadevi, wife of Kampana, the son of Bukka-I. It is a great Kavya in the Sanskrit literature of the period. She narrates in a simple and charming style the successful expeditions of her husband Kamparaya. This work is based on the manuscripts which are available. Madhuravijayam gives us two important events, like the destruction of Sambuvaraja's rule in the Tondaimandalam and the other is the destruction of the Madurai Sultanate. This work throws enough light on social life of the people such as caste system, habits, occupation of women and games. Gangadevi was poetess of a very high order.

The other writer was Tirumalamba. She wrote Champukavya called Varadambikaparnyam, in which she describes the marriage of Achyutaraya with queen Varadambika. Tirumalamba was a Sanskrit authoress whose work is available completely. She belonged to the royal family of Vijayanagara. She was the wife of King Achyuta Raya who ruled in the first half of the sixteenth century. Tirumalamba was a poetess, her literary achievements were admired by one and all in the court of Achyuta Raya. This work throws a good deal of light on the social life of the people.

Abhirama Kamakashi, whose brother Svayambhu was the son-in-law of Arunagirinatha I, composed in charming verses the Abhinava

Ramabhyudaya. It narrates the story of Ramayana. Apart from the above works there are also numerous literary works under study.

1.5 Foreign Accounts

From time immemorial India has attracted foreigners. Many foreign travelers, traders and envoys have visited India and have recorded their experiences.

Abdur Razzak, who visited Vijayanagara in 1443 A.D., as an ambassador of the Persian king, gives meticulous description of the city of Vijayanagara, its grandeur and the prosperity of the people. Abdur Razzak, sent on an important mission to the Zomorin by shah Rueeh in 1413 A.D. He. sailed to Calicut from Ormuz in 1442 A.D. His stay there was a cut short by a message from the king Vijayanagara asking that he should be sent on to the capital without delay Abdur Razzak went to Vijayanagara by way of Mangalore and was received. He witnessed the Mahanavami festival. He has written a book called Malta-us-salatin. The great value of this work has been generally recognized. From his accounts we can get a glimpse of the history of Vijayanagara.

The next foreigner to travel in South India was not a missionary but a trading prospector, a Venetian of noble family, Nicolo-de-Conti. The first Indian city which Conti visited was Cambay in 1420 A.D. where he notices the number of precious stones called sardonixes and also the prevalence of Sati. Conti gives a glowing description of the Vijayanagara Court, festivals, currency and other aspects.

Athansis Nikitin, a Russian trader (1468 A.D.) traveled in India and left behind a vivid record of Vijayanagara, Varthema a Portuguese traveler, who had traveled in India during 1503-08 has left a fine record

of his experience. His description of the city of Vijayanagara, is interesting and valuable.

Durate Barbosa served the Portuguese government in India from 1500 to 1516 A.D. During his stay he learnt the Malayalam language very well. He gives a vivid picture of Vijayanagara.

Sewell Robert's unique work "A Forgotten Empire" (1900) which includes translations of the chronicles of Demingos Paes is highly valuable not only for the light it throws on the personality of Krishnadevaraya, but also on the festivals, customs, and manners of the people of Vijayanagara. The chronicle of Nuniz, composed in 1537 A.D. incorporates the information gathered by him about the rulers of Vijayanagara. He visited Vijayanagara more than once between 1520 A.D. and 1540 A.D.

Ceasar Frederic, who visited Vijayanagara, a couple of years after the battle of Talikota (1565 A.D) comments on the greatness of the imperial city of Vijayanagara.

Another thing which attracted the travelers was the harem, maintained by the Vijayanagara sovereigns. Petro-Delle-Valle, an Italian traveler toured the kingdom of Keladi and visited Ikkeri and other places in the costal region. He has left behind an illuminating description of the Society, customs and manners of the people.

1.6 Modern Works

Apart from Archaeological, literary and foreign accounts, there are other supplementary works like books, research papers, articles published in various journals like quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,

Indian Historical Quarterly, Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Journal of Indian History, Half-Yearly Journal of Mysore University, Journal of Bombay Branch of Historical Research Society, which supply veritable information on Vijayanagara period.

1.7 Brief Political History of the Vijayanagara Dynasty

After the fall of the Karnatak's royal dynasties, the Hoysalas and the Sevunas, and the other dynasties of South India like the kakatiyas of Warangal (Orangal) and the Pandyas of Madurai, a sort of political vacuum was created in South India. The Vijayanagara Empire came into existence to fill this vacuum. It also played a historic role in protecting the Hindu religion and culture in South India. They had their capital at Vijayanagara (modern Hampi near Hospet in Bellary district).

Vidyaranya

Tradition holds that Vidyaranya, the head of the Shringeri monastery, helped Sangama brothers in founding the empire. But this statement has been disputed by some scholars.

The role of Vidyaranya in founding the Empire and his identification are issues over which controversies have been going on. Vidyaranya, no doubt, was not the head of the Shringeri Matha at the time of the founding of the Empire and he occupied the Shringeri Pita only in 1380. But it looks that he was a prominent sanyasi much earlier, and he must have helped the founding of the Empire by securing financial aid for Harihara. He was the head of the Shringeri Matha between 1380 and 1386. there is a tradition according to which Vidyaranya was known as Madhvacharya before he took Sanyasa. Some scholars had disputed the identity of Vidyaranya with Madhvacharya, the brother of Sayanacharya. But it is proved beyond doubt that Vidyaranya

was Madhvacharya, quite distinct from Mantri Madhava a governor in Gutti and Goa. This Madhava Mantri ruled till 1391 and Vidyaranya died in 1386. Another set of scholars try to identify Vidyaranya with Kriyashakti Guru, the noted Kalamukha teacher. But this identification is also not easily acceptable because it is known from other sources that Kriyashakti died in 1388 and outlived Vidyaranya who died in 1386. Though Kriyashakti Guru, a teacher of the Kalamukha sect was the family priest of the Sangama brothers, records and tradition do not assign the Kalamukha Guru any role in the founding of Vijayanagara.

The Shringeri Matha was held in high reverence by the Vijayanagara emperors and this indicated that Vidyaranya had something to do with the founding of the empire. While Vidyaranya was studying at Kashi in 1356, Emperor Bukka addressed him a letter, requesting him to return to Vijayanagara. The Shringeri Matha received many grants from the empire, right from 1346. Sage Vidyaranya appears to have secured financial help to Harihara, using his influence as a religious leader with the rich people, while Harihara founded the empire in 1336. This fact has been preserved in the tradition that Vidyaranya caused a shower of gold to help founding of the empire.

Sayana and Vidyaranya were very close to the Sangama rulers and undertook extensive writing on Vedic tradition including commentaries on the Vedas and a guidebook on a social matters like Parashara Madhaviya at the instance of Bukka and Harihara II.

Harihara I (1336-56)

Harihara was the son of Sangama who was perhaps the commander of the Hoysalas. Harihara had four other brothers, namely, Bukka, Kampana, Muddappa and Marappa. Harihara’s relations with the

Hoysala family have been already noted. Ballappa Dandanayaka, a nephew of Ballala III, was the son-in-law of Harihara. Harihara built the fort at Barakuru on the West Coast in 1336. He was administering the northern parts of Karnataka from Gutti in Anantpur district in 1339. He succeeded in having control over the northern parts of the Hoysala kingdom from the West Coast to the east. He assumed the title "Purvapaschima Samudradhishvara" or "The Master of the Eastern and the Western Oceans". 'Arirayavibhada' ("Submarine fire to enemy kings"), and 'Bhashegetappuvarayaraganda'. ("Punisher of the rulers who fail to keep their promise") were his other titles. After the death of Ballala III (1343), Harihara appears to have started his rule with sovereign powers. He came to control most of the territory to the south of the Tungabhadra. In the year 1346 he with his four brothers, made a grant to Bharati Tirtha, at Shringeri. The Hoysala queen Krishnayitayi (wife of Ballala III) also made a grant to the Swamy on the same day. He appointed his younger brother Kampana governor over the Nellur region. Bukka was joint ruler with him from as early as in 1345. Marappa ruled over Malerajya from Chandragutti and Muddappa was administering the Mulabagilu region.

Harihara came into conflict with the Bahamani kingdom which was founded in 11th August 1347 A.D. This checked Harihara's northward expansion. Harihara not only founded a new empire, but organized good administrative machinery in the newly conquered territories. The appointment of his brothers as viceroys over various regions helped the centralization of administration. Undoubtedly Harihara was an able conqueror and he had all the great qualities necessary for the founder of a new empire. He was childless and was succeeded by his brother Bukka in 1356.

Bukka I (1356-77)

To Bukka goes the credit of destroying all hostile powers in the south. He wiped out the kingdom of Shambhuvaraya ruling from the Arcot region in 1360 and conquered his territory. The Reddis of Kondavidu also came to be defeated and the region round Penukonda conquered. The Sultanate of Madhurai founded after the fall of the Pandyas was also ended by 1371. Ballala III had carried a long struggle against the Sultanate and died in 1343, during a war against Madhurai. Destruction of the Madhurai Sultanate was an achievement of Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka, and this victory of the prince has been described in Madhuravijayam. The authoress, Gangambika, was the wife of Kumara Kampana.

There was a war between the Bahamanis and Vijayanagara regarding the mastery over the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab region. Bukka had an upper hand in the war. Goa was under his control. The rulers of Malabar and Ceylon paid tribute to him. He had sent an embassy to the court of the Mings, the emperors of China in 1374.

Bukka completed the work started by Harihara and Vijayanagara became the unquestioned power over the whole region to the south of the Tungabhadra. Under Bukka was begun the work of writing the commentary on the Vedas, known as Vedarthaprakasha. Dozens of scholars under the able guidance of the celebrated savants, Madhava and Sayana, did the work. Telugu poet Nachana Soma was patronized by Bukka. A notable event of his rein was his settlement of a dispute between Shrivaishnavas and Jains. The former were persecuting the latter and Bukka called the leaders of both the communities and got an assurance from Shrivaishnavas that they would protect the Jains who were in a minority.

Bukka's son Kampana predeceased Bukka. Bukka's another son, Harihara II, succeed his father to the throne in 1377.

Harihara II (1377-1404) took advantage of the death of Mujahid Bahamani in 1378, and extended his dominions in Konkana beyond Goa to Chaul. In Andhra he occupied the fort of Udayagiri and captured Pangal to the north of the Krishna from the Velamas. He even defeated the Bahamanis who had helped the Velamas. The work of writing commentaries on the Vedas was completed in the days of Harihara II, and he assumed the title 'Vaidikamarga Sthapanacharya' and 'Vedamarga Pravartaka'.

He was succeeded by his son Virupaksha I, who ruled for only a few months, followed by his another son Bukka II (1405-06), and finally by the third son, Devaraya I (1406-22). Devaraya I extended his dominations in the north-east, and the hereditary rivalry between the Gajapathi of Kalinga (Orissa) and the empire began in his days. Ferista narrates a story of the emperor falling in love with the daughter of a goldsmith from Mudugal and this affair leading to a war between Devaraya I and the Bahamanis. Devaraya I was worsted in the war, and was forced to marry his daughter to the Bahamani prince, he says, but no other contemporary account speaks of this victory and the marriage, and this story has been found to be not true. In fact he foiled the efforts of Firuz Bahamani to conquer the Pangal fort and this defect caused the death in distress of the Sultan. Nicolo Conti, an Italian, visited Vijayanagara during the days of Devaraya I, and he says that the imperial capital had a circumference of 60 miles. There was a dispute between the Shankha Jinalaya of Lakshmeshwara and the Someshwara temple of the place over some property. The emperor deputed an officer and his palace priest and the duo settled the dispute in favour of the

Jinalaya (1413). Devaraya had a Muslim bodyguard who built a choultry for the merit of the emperor at the capital.

Devaraya was succeeded by Ramachandra (1422), his son, who was soon overthrown by Devaraya's another son, Vijayaraya (1422-24). Vijayaraya's son Devaraya II succeeded his father in 1424, and he is the greatest monarch of the Sangama family.

Devaraya II (1424-46)

Also known as Praudha Devaraya, Devaraya II has the title "Gajaventekara" as he was well-versed in the art of elephant hunt. He was looking after the administration as the crown prince in the days of his father, and defeated the Bahamanis in c. 1423. The Bahamani capital was shifted to Bidar after this defeat (1426).

In the east, Devaraya fought three wars against the Gajapathis. He drove back Gajapathi Bhanudeva who tried to capture Kondavidu in 1427. The efforts of Gajapathi Kapilendra to conquer Rajamahendri in 1436 was also foiled. A third invasion of Vijayanagara territories by the Kalinga rulers in about 1441 was also repulsed. Devaraya defeated the Reddis of Kondavidu and captured Kondavidu (1432).

In his wars with the Bahamanis (1435-36), he is stated to have lost Mudgal fort. But a record of 1436 at Mudgal fort testifies that the fort continued in the hands of Devaraya II. In a second war in 1443, certain territories in the Doab region were lost by the empire. They were days of certain disturbing events in the imperial capital, when a brother of Devaraya II had tried to assassinate him, and the emperor had been severely wounded.

Southern parts of Kerala, around Quilon, were included in the empire in the days of Devaraya II, and his trusted commander, Lakkanna, invaded Ceylon and collected rich tribute from the ruler of the island. The ruler of Calicut, the Zamorin, also feared Devaraya II. The emperor collected tribute from the kings of Burma, ruling at Pegu and Tanasserim.

Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, visited Vijayanagara in 1443. The visitor was stunned by the glory and grandeur of the empire. "The city of Vijayanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other", says he. The troops of the Raya amounted to lakhs, according to his reports, and he adds that there was no king more powerful than him in the whole of Hindustan.

Devaraya was not only a valiant warrior and able administrator, but also a great scholar and patron of men of letters. He himself wrote a Sanskrit work, Mahanataka Sudhanidhi on stagecraft. Gunda Dindima, a Sanskrit poet and Shrinatha, the Telugu scholar, were in his court. Later he was honoured by performing Kanakabhisheka (showering of gold coins on his head) by the Emperor. His commander Lakkanna was a writer in Kannada. Virashaiva writers claim that he had embraced Virashaiva faith.

Devaraya was followed by two weak and vicious rulers, during whose period the empire shrank in size. Devaraya's son Mallikarjuna (1446-65) also known as Devaraya III could not resist the Gajapathis and lost Rajamahendri in 1454 to them. The Bahamanis too came as far as the imperial capital in 1450. The Gajapathis captured Udayagiri and

Chandragiri in 1463, and marched in the south upto the Cauveri. These disasters caused the dethronement of mallikarjuna by Virupaksha, son of his uncle(brother of Devaraya II) Paratapadevaraya, in 1465.

But Virupaksha proved himself to be in no way better than Mallikarjuna. Mohammed Gawan, the Bahamani minister, wrested the whole of the Konkana coast including Goa and also Belgaum from the empire in 1470, and the empire further shrank in size. The tributaries and officials of the empire started disobeying its authority. Virupaksha's own son killed him in 1485, and the empire passed into the hands of his another son, Praudharaya. But this young emperor also did not succeed in salvaging the empire from misfortunes. After a short rule, he was driven out of the capital by Saluva Narasimha, an able general of the empire, who ended the rule of the Sangama dynastry (1485).

Saluva Narasimha (1485-91)

To Saluva Narasimha goes the credit of having saved the empire from the critical situation. He was a commander of the empire and was the son of Saluva Gunda, the governor of Chandragiri. After the death of Mallikarjuna, Narasimha tried to consolidate his power in the south and conquered Udayagiri (1469) and Kondavidu (1480) from the Gajapathis. He sent his commander Tuluva Ishvara to the Kannada region and the latter captured Nagamangala, Bangalore and Srirangapattana for his master. After the death of Virupaksha (1485), he sent Tuluva Narasa Nayaka, son of Ishvara to the imperial capital. Emperor Prataparaya fled from the city and Narasimha became the emperor in 1485.

He ruled for a short period of only six years. But he strove to restore the empire to its past glory. But he did not completely succeed in his efforts. Gajapathi Kapilendra conquered Udayagiri in 1491. There

were revolts in various parts of the empire soon after his succession. He had to undertake a long war against the Ummattur chief in the Mysore region and many Jaina princes on the West Coast, who included the Santharas of Karkala and the Saluvas of Haduvalli.

He organized his army by improving his cavalry. He be friended the Arabs and bought the best horses form them.

Saluva Narasimha was a scholar and writer in Sanskrit (work: Ramabhyudayam) and was a close devotee of the Madhawa saint, Shripadaraya. He died in 1491, leaving his two sons under the guardianship of his trusted commander, Tuluva Narasa Nayaka.

The successor of Saluva Narasimha, Prince Timma was murdered by an army commander. The second son of Narasimha, Saluva Narasimha II, was crowned by Narasa Nayaka. But this prince was the emperor only in name, and the power lay in the hands of Narasa Nayaka himself. Narasa Nayaka had to face opposition from all sides. But he succeeded in keeping the ruler of Bijapur at bay and pushing the invasion of the Gajapathis back. He succeeded in suppressing many rebellious chiefs.

After the death in 1503, his first son Tuluva Narasimha succeeded him. Saluva Narasimha II, the young prince, was murdered at Penukonda (in c. 1505) where he had been subjected to confinement by Narasa Nayaka. Tuluva Narasimha (1503-09) also known as Bhujabalaraya had to counteract the incursions of the Bijapur ruler who wanted to capture Adavani and Karnul. Narasimha, with the help of Aravidu Timma succeeded in repulsing the enemy. He courted the friendship of the Portuguese who had reached the Indian coast in 1498. Much of his time was spent in meeting the rebellious chiefs. He died in

1509 and was succeeded by his step-brother Krishnadevaraya, who for sometime ruled jointly with Narasimha. The policy of decentralizing power by appointing hereditary Palegars were encouraged by the Tuluvas.

Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529)

Krishnadevaraya, the most able among the emperors of Vijayanagara, has been called the "greatest among the rulers of South India". He was an able administrator, valiant conqueror, great scholar and religious-minded monarch. He patronized literature and arts.

Soon after his coming to the throne, Krishnadevaraya had to face the Gajapathi whom he defeated in 1509. Next he faced the joint armies of the Bahamani Sultan and the Adilshahii of Bijapur Krishnadevaraya defeated the combined armies at Doni and pursued them upto Kovilakonda where they were again defeated. His coronation took place in January 1510, which was followed by another encounter with Bijapur in which Yusuf Adilshahii was killed, according to Prof. O. Ramachandrayya. Conquest of Shivanasamudra, after defeating the chief of Ummattur who was in revolt for long, was his next achievement (1512). The same year, he re-conquered Raichur which was in the hands of Bijapur for nearly 20 years. Mangalore was also reduced in c. 1512, after a long period of insubordination.

The emperor turned his attention to the east and conquered the fort of Udayagiri from the Gajapathi in 1513, after a long siege. This major success was followed by his conquest of the forts of Kandukar, Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Nagarjunakonda and Ketavaram. Next, he laid siege to Kondavidu and subjugated it in June 1515. After this Bejavada and Kondapalli came to the captured. He subdued

Telangana after this. Next he conquered Rajamahendri and proceeded as far as Simhachalam. He established a pillar of victory at Potnur. Finally he invaded Cuttak, the capital of the Gajapathi Prataparudra was forced to sue for peace in 1518. The Gajapathi gave his daughter, Tukkadevai or Jaganmohini, in marriage to Krishnadevaraya.

During his absence in Orissa, the ruler of Golkonda, Qutb Shah laid siege to Kondavidu. Krishnadevaraya, on his way back, defeated the Golkonda army and took its commander captive. The Adilshahi made an effort to capture Raichur. The Raya pursued the Bijapur army and defeated them at Kembavi and Surpapur. Later, the fort of Raichur fell into the hands of Bijapur in 1522. It was reconquered, and the Vijayanagara army entered Bijapur victorious and camped there for four days (from 19^{th} March, 1522). The emperor marched on Gulbarga after this and freed the Bahamani Sultan who had been imprisoned by his own subordinates. Krishnadevaraya crowned the Bahamani Sultan at Gulbarga, and assumed the title, "Establisher of the Yavana Kingdom". He returned to the capital in 1523 and ruled peacefully after this. The Ramaswami Temple at Vijayanagara came to be expanded by him. He added a Kalayanamantapa to the Virupaksha Temple and erected a tower there. He also constructed the Krishnaswamy and Vithalaswami Temples in the imperial capital. The colossal Lakshminarasimha statue in the capital is also a creation of his.

He had helped the Portuguese to conquer Goa from Bijapur in 1510. He maintained friendly relations with them. Portuguese travelers, Barbosa and Paes had visited his court and have left graphic descriptions about his court and personality. Peas calls him "A great ruler and a man of much justice".

The emperor was himself a scholar and wrote the Telugu work Amuktamalyada and a Sanskrit play, Jambavati Kalayana. He had in his court eight great scholars known as Ashtadiggajas. They included Peddanna, Mukku Timmana, Tennali Ramakrishna and Kumara Dhurjati. Kannada poet, Timmanna was honoured by the emperor. Krishnadevaraya was a devotee of the Madhwa saint Vyasatirtha. His period was marked by all-round cultural activity. He had a great minister, Saluva Timma. Tirumalamba, Chinnadevi and Jaganmohini were his chief queens.

In the days of Krishnadevaraya, the empire expanded in the east and the north. He patronized all religious sects. He took steps to improve agriculture by providing irrigational facilities. His friendly relations with the Portuguese helped the expansion of the overseas trade of the empire. It brought in a large income to the state exchequer. His rule is a glorious chapter in the history of South India.

Krishnadevaraya was succeeded by his step-brother Achyuta (1529) whose rule was a period of foreign invasions and internals strifes. Taking advantage of the internal strife in the empire, the Adilshahi's, had conquered Raichur; but Achyuta re-conquered the fort in 1535. He also suppressed the rebellion that had broken out in Travancore. Nuniz, who visited the empire during his days, has called the emperor a liar and a coward. But his statement is incorrect. In fact, Achyuta was an able ruler, faced with adverse circumstances. Achyutabhyudayam and Varadambika parinayam are two Sanskrit poems which depict his life and times.

After the death of Achyuta in 1542, his young son Venkata succeeded him. Achyuta's brother-in-law, Salaka Timmaraju assumed regency and tried to assume power. He even killed his nephew, Prince

Venkata. Aravidu Ramaraya popularly known as Aliya Ramaraya put forth the claims of Sadashivaraya, son of Ranga, Achyuta's brother. Sadashiva ascended the throne in 1543 with the help of Ramaraya. But Sadashiva was a king only in name, and Ramaraya became the defacto ruler.

Ramaraya

Son of Aravidu Ranga, a commander under the Tuluva rulers, Ramaraya became a powerful commander in the days of Krishnadevaraya. He and his brother Tirumala had married daughters of Krishnadevaraya and were popularly known as Aliya Ramaraya and Aliya Tirumala. They had a third brother called Venkatadri. The Aravidu brothers rose to great eminence in the days of Krishnadevaraya. After the death of Krishnadevaraya, Ramaraya tried to secure power, but later he supported the cause of Achyuta. After the death of Achyuta, he espoused the cause of Sadashiva, and became the virtual ruler. Initially he ruled in the name of Sadashiva, calling himself the regent, and when Sadashiva came of age and tried to assert himself, Ramaraya made the emperor a virtual prisoner.

Ramaraya was an able commander, good administrator and a tactful diplomat. But he was over-confident about his capacities, which no doubt were great. He removed from power many imperial officials who were loyal to the empire, but were opposed to him personally. This act in a way weakened the empire. He appointed two brother, Gilanis, as army commanders and bestowed great confidence in them, though they were strangers and had been actually dismissed from the Adilshahi service.

The Shahis of the Deccan invited Ramaraya to interfere in their mutual squabbles. Ramaraya took full advantage of the situation and

expanded the empire beyond the Krishna. It was with his help that Ibrahim Qutubshah ascended the throne of Golkonda. He had been sheltered by Ramaraya for seven years. Ali Adilshahi was showered with affection by Ramaraya and was accepted as an adopted son by him. He took their friendship for granted.

Ramaraya succeeded in suppressing the revolt in the Travancore and Chandragiri regions. The ruler of Kandy in Ceylon was made to pay tribute to Vijayanagara. He dealt with the Portuguese with harshness whenever it was necessary, and at one time he attacked their settlement at San Thome.

Ramaraya has been criticized for his interference in the affairs of the Shahi Sultans. But this criticism is baseless. Likewise diplomat, Ramaraya interfered in their affairs whenever he was called upon to do so. When the Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar and the Qutubshahi of Golkonda invited his help against the Adilshahi of Bijapur, Ramaraya did go to the help of the former and secured the Raichur Doab. Later, in 1549, the Adilshahi allied with the Baridshahi of Bidar and declared war on Ahmednagar. Vijayanagara did go to the help of the later on invitation and helped the Nizamshahi to capture the fort of Kalyana. Ali Adilshahi, who came to the throne in 1557, allied himself with Ramaraya as noted above, and with the help of Vijayanagara, invaded Admednagar. This was followed by a second war between Bijapur and Ahmednagar in 1563. The Nizamshah allied himself with the Qutubshahi. Adilshahi with the help of Ramaraya and the Baridshah, defeated the Nizamshahi and the joint armies of the three power devasted the Ahmednagar territory. The Nizamshahi held Ramaraya responsible for his losses. He thought of wreaking vengeance upon Vijayanagara, and made an appeal in the name of religion to his coreligionist ruler. Hussain Nizamshahi cultivated friendship with Ali Adil by marrying his daughter Chandbibi to the latter.

They also won over the Baridshahi and Qutubshahi and formed a grand coalition against Vijayanagara. The joint army caped at Talikota in December 1564.

Some writers have criticized Ramaraya for the depredations his army is said to have committed in the Ahmednagar region. It is stated that his men molested women and committed sacrilege in mosques. To what extent the Vijayanagara army could have committed such offences when they were in the company of other Muslim powers, is a point to be given thought to. Secondly, devastating the enemy territory was not unknown in those days. When one looks into the accounts given by Ferista and other historians regarding the campaigns of the army of the Bahamani Sultan and the Adilshahi in the Vijayanagara territory and the account of their devastations, one will be stunned. Ramaraya was not anti-Muslim and had appointed many Muslim governors as at Barkur and in Mysore district region.

The Great Battle (1565)

Aged and over-confident, Ramaraya led the army personally, and a pitched battle was fought on the banks of the Krishna in between the villages in modern Bijapur district, Rakkasagi and Tangadigi (that is why it is known as the Battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi. Prof. Shervani argues that it was fought at Bannihatti). It looked as if Vijayanagara was going to win the day. A sudden sally from the enemy camp resulted in Ramaraya being taken prisoner and killed. The death of the leader created panic in the Vijayanagara army and it fled in all directions. Tirumala, Ramaraya's brother, hurried back to capital and with vast treasures and Emperor Sadashiva, marched towards Penukonda where he took shelter. The enemy forces entered the capital and plundered it for many months. The great city of Vijayanagara was ransacked.

1.8 Hypothesis

The present work makes an attempt to test a few following hypothesis. First, it is believed that in the Varna system the Brahmanas were accorded the highest position in the social hierarchy. Now the question is what were the reasons for it. Was it scholarship, ritual knowledge, Magical power? It may be called all these. But there was something else and that was the land power possessed by the Brahmans. This was a additional asset. The second hypothesis is framed on the first one viz the relationship between the Brahmana land holdings and their importance in the areas where they settled. The third Hypothesis is projective in the belief that there was always a sort of alliance between the ruling elite and the Brahmans.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study lies in the interpretation of the available data. The origin and development of Brahmadeya settlements and Devadayas in Karnataka amply demonstrate this. They were patronized by one and all in the society irrespective of caste, sect and creed. Hence the present study throws more light on this aspect of our past. It is hoped that the research work would contribute to some extent to our knowledge of the past which is influencing the present.

1.10 Objectives of the Study

In keeping with the title of our study, the following objectives have kept in mind.

Perhaps the most important objectives of my study is to bring out the total donors, their intension for giving gifts to various aspects.

To know the role of state in giving gifts during the said period

To know about the different views of donors

To know about the different types of Danas given by donors

To know about Royal patronage to temple and temple building activities
To know how religion played an important role in the life of donors

1.11 Methodology

Historical method and its tools were applied for the present study. The main thrust of the research will be Inscriptions, literature, foreign accounts and Journals.

1.12 Historiography

It is Mark Wilks who first in 1810 tried to explore this vast field. He was the political agent (resident) of the British in the court of the Mysore-Wodeyars. He tried to narrate the history of the Karnataka region. Though he was able to draw the attention of the scholars towards this fascinating subject. Colonel Colin Meckenzie, a military surveyor, who appeared on the scene in 1815 was another pioneer in this field. He collected a large number of manuscripts, inscriptions, documents and artifacts which became the primary source for the reconstruction of early South Indian History. As Burton Stein has pointed out, "the direct participation of Indians in the Mackenzie collections makes their writings of historical accounts of Vijayanagara among the first in which Indian presented something of their own history."

The interest in the subject was aroused by Robert Sewell's work The Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) in 1900. Sewell was a collector in this region and was attracted by the rich monuments, literary and other sources. He tried to paint a picture of the political and cultural achievements of the Vijayanagara emperors. He also used some accounts of foreign travelers which are valuable for the study of the subject. The pioneering work of Robert Sewell has been criticized by many recent scholars. He was condemned for sowing the seeds of discord between

Hindus and Muslims. Burton Stein remarks that “these Britons (Mark Wilks, Colonel Mackenzie and Robert Sewell) sought to advise an historical past not for the sake of pure knowing but for the purpose of controlling a subject people whose past was to be so constructed as to make British rule a necessity as well as a virtue”.

The earliest and most influential successor of Robert Sewell was S. Krishnaswami Aiyanagar. After completing his post-graduate degree in 1897 and teaching in a Bangalore college for a decade, he adorned the Chair in Indian History and Archaeology established at the University of Madras in 1914. He read Robert Sewell’s last work on the inscriptions and historical chronology of South India on the English man’s recommendation and by the mid-1920s Krishnaswami Aiyanagar had published extensively on many topics in Vijayanagara history. He departed in two important ways from the art of historiography inherited from Sewell and other Europeans. One was his emphasis on Hindu-Muslim conflict as being the cause and principal motive force for the founding of Vijayanagara Kingdom and the claim that resistance to Islam was the great vindication of Vijayanagara. This view is evident in his first major historical publication, Ancient India (1911) and in his later work, especially in the South India her Mohammedan Invaders (1921. Hindu-Muslim conflict is fully elucidated. He argued that the ‘patriotic national’ mission of Vijayanagara was passed directly to the next great defenders of Hindu dharma, the Maratha kingdom of Shivaji. Krishnaswami Aiyanagar also introduced a new point of view in Vijayanagara historiography by insisting this literary sources should be considered as important as epigraphy and archaeology.

The next significant development was the rise of regional nationalism in parts of the large Madras Presidency, especially in Kannada and Telugu areas. The effective young historians of the 1930s

were B.A. Saletore interested in Karnataka history and N. Venkataramanayya, in Andhra history. Though they accepted Krishnaswami Aiyanagar's view regarding literary evidence, they differed from him. B.A. Saletore in his Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (1934), tried to trace the origin of the empire from Karnataka, in his view the Vijayanagara Kingdom was created by the release of "the latent energy of the Hindu Dharma in Southern India" by Muslim conquest and humiliation. He viewed Vijayanagara as an expression of Karnataka nationalism. Reverend Heras in his The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara (1927) putforth a similar view.

N. Venkataramanayya presented the counter-argument that the Sangam brothers who founded Vijayanagara were not Kannadigas but Andhras. His two important works are Vijayanagara-Origins of the City and Empire (1933) and Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara (1935). He also argued that two of the basic institutions of the Vijayanagara state were introduced by the Telugu conquerors of Karnataka on the model of the Kakatiyas. These were the distinctive forms of military land tenure called the Nayankara system and of paid village servants called the Ayagar system.

Thus, the Vijayanagara historiography which began with European orientalists underwent an important change after the 1940s. While Krishnaswami Aiyanagar and Henry Heras introduced into Vijayanagara historiography an anti-Muslim and broad Hindu nationalistic bias, B.A. Saletore and N. Venkataramanayya viewed it from the narrow viewpoint of regionalism in terms of Karnataka and Andhra.

The next important historian of Vijayanagara was T.V. Mahalingam, who wrote on administrative and economic aspects of Vijayanagara history. Three of his monographs, which appeared in 1940,

1951 and 1955 are very important for the study of the Vijayanagara empire. The renowned historian T.V. Mahalingam has discussed the origin and development of feudalism in South India with particular reference to Tamil country. In his work entitled South Indian Polity he has examined the existence of the feudal system in medieval South India under Vijayanagara. He finds abroad similarities between the Amaranayaka system under Vijayanagara and the feudal system/ organization in contemporary Europe. But he is careful when he says that "the similarities are limited to only a few respects, for in South India the feudal principle had not developed to the extent to which it had developed in Europe".

Mahalingam defined feudalism as complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure. In this system he says that from the king down to the lowest land owner were together by the obligation service and defense. The lord had to protect his vassal and the vassal to serve the lord. He says that the defence and service were based on and regulated by nature and extent of the land held by the lord and his vassals. In defining feudalism Mahalingam quotes Stubbs. According to him, feudalism had two aspects, one was political and the other was economic. The political aspect of feudalism refers to a system where the vassal administered his chief had enjoyed certain powers in return for which he was bound to serve the lord. On the other hand the lord was expected to protect his vassal. The economic aspect of feudalism in the context of Europe refers to the vassal's position and powers derived from the extent of the land he held. Applying these principles of European feudalism, Mahalingam tries to see feudal elements in the Amaranayaka system. In order to substantiate his views he quotes Nunize and Peas, the two Protugese travelers who visited Vijayanagara Empire in the 16th century.

After Krishnaswami Aiyangar in Vijayanagara historiography K.A. Nilakanta Shastri was the greatest and the most influential historian, who succeeded Krishnaswami Aiyangar for the history chair at the University of Madras. K.A. Nilakanta Shastri's works, according to Burton Stein, had profound impact on Vijayanagara history. Shastri brought out a three volume Further Sources of Vijayanagara History in 1946, edited jointly with N. Venkataramanayya, he also put forth his views clearly in his long, synthetic chapters on Vijayanagara in his work A History of South India, first published in 1955. K.A. Nilankata Shastri considered Vijayanagara to be not a fully centralized, "hereditary monarchy' because of the constant threat from Muslim states and the 'intransigence' of its feudatories. He was the only historian who argued the Vijayanagara produced "the nearest approach to a war-state ever made by a Hindu Kingdom". In 1964 a significant work entitled the Tamil Country under Vijayanagara by A. Krishnaswamin Pillai, interpreted the Vijayanagara politics as 'feudal', particularly in Tamil country.

One of the most significant interpretations on Vijayanagara history was offered by Burton Stein in his work Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India (1980). Stein put forth a persuasive argument that the Chola government was a 'segmentary state'. He also extended this interpretation of 'segmentary' state on Vijayanagara and opposed the view of a centralized system put forth by Nilakanta Shastri, A. Krishnaswamin Pillai and others. Burton Stein also argued that the feudal model is inadequate in understanding the Indian agrarian relations and has applied the 'Segmentary model'. He has borrowed this model from the study of African tribal society. He has rejected the evidence about the existence of feudalism in the Vijayanagara polity found in the accounts of Nuniz and Peas. He also believes that there existed no strong centre, what existed was only a ritual centre or a nominal centre and everything was controlled at the local level.

Vijayanagara Empire was a conglomeration of segments mostly detached from one another. But in opposition to the viewpoints of Burton Stein, it can also be argued that those segments were feudalized segments.

Burton Stein's latest work The New Cambridge History of India (Vijayanagara), India edition 1994, demolishes many myths and misconceptions relating to Vijayanagara history. Burton Stein presents a brief historiography of Vijayanagara in his introduction. This is, no doubt one of the best parts of his work he traces historical writings on Vijayanagara from Mark Wilks to Karashima. He evaluates the writings of these scholars and points out the blunders committed by both the orientalists and the Indian scholars. He admires the brilliant analysis of Krishnaswami Aiyangar, although he does not agree with his depiction of the nationalistic and patriotic motive of the Vijayanagara emperors. The other chapter titled as the medieval past; continuity and disjunction, gives an historical account of political development in the Pre-Vijayanagara of South India. In the chapter entitled, the city and the Kingdom, Stein analyses the fiscal basis of the Vijayanagara Kingdom as well as its political geography. In the next chapter 'Political Economy and Society'. In the Sixteenth Century', the author explains the role of Kings and chiefs, religion society and ideology. In the next chapter 'Imperial Collapse and Aftermath: 1542 – 1700', he focuses on trade and society. In the last chapter, that is conclusion, one can find a summary of his views on Vijayanagara polity.

Burton Stein applies his 'segmentary theory' to Vijayanagara. He characterizes Vijayanagara states as "weak prebendalism which manifesting the weakly centralized character of that kingdom". On the whole, Burton Stein totally rejected the arguments of Indian nationalist historians. Rejecting thus the ideological farming of Vijayanagara History, he painstakingly presents an altogether different 'legacy of the

segmentary politics and society of the Vijayanagara age'. His bibliographical essay provides a very scholarly and critical review of the works on Vijayanagara under various themes. In the last part of his bibliographical essay (things to come), he mentions some of the latest research works on Vijayanagara which can be consulted for further study. In this way his work Vijayanagara (1994) is both a challenge and stepping stone for further study for the students of history working on Vijayanagara.

The latest and by far the more balanced and a brilliant account are given by a set of historians, led by K.K.N. Kurup. The new interpretations given by a set of scholars can be seen in the volume entitled New Dimensions in South Indian history (1996), edited by K.K.N. Kurup, prominent among these scholars are Y Subbarayalu, Rajan Gurukkal and K.K.N. Kurup. Subbarayalus article on "Socio-political Formation of South India-Vijayanagara period" is a brilliant piece of exposition on the historiography of Vijayanagara. He reviews the Historiography of Vijayanagara, explains the drawbacks and defects of several prominent works on the subject and rightly points out that several prominent works on the subject and rightly points out that several scholars have paid undue attention to the origin of the kingdom, particularly the linguistic affiliation of the founders of Vijayanagara and the supposedly anti-Muslim stand of the Vijayanagara State. He makes clear the double standard adopted by these authors in presenting Vijayanagara rulers as patriotic and nationalistic. He also puts forth a very logical and consistent argument regarding the Nayankara system in Vijayanagara. He clearly indicates the mistakes committed by the previous writers in discussion this problem. He has successfully provided many appendices at the end of his book. He has given a list of important inscriptions which throw light on the history of Nayakas. He has also referred to the grants offered by the Tanjore Nayaks.

Thus, from the brief review presented above it is possible to draw a few general conclusions. First, historiography of Vijayanagara began with a Forgotten Empire in 1900 and after hundred years has reached a stage of never to be Forgotten Empire. Secondly this subject matter has attracted for attention of national, colonial, communal regional, secular and subaltern interpretation from the scholars. Today Hampi has been declared as world heritage monument and its artistic achievement have attracted western scholars. Thirdly the debate is still going on has to be as nature and structure of the empire. Feudal-federal decentralized and local arguments have been put forwarded. Lastly the Vijayanagara Empire at present has become a golden mine for the scholars to explore multi dimensions.

CHAPTER - II
LAND GRANTS DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

2.0 Introduction

It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of land grants in the rural economy of any country. In Karnataka, land had always been the only source of income. The exploitation of land was the only means of livelihood for different classes of people and institutions of society. In fact everyone looked at land as a means of livelihood, including religious institutions like Temples, Mutts, Charitable institutions, also houses, educational institutions, private persons, kings and their officials all depended on the income of agricultural land.

The feelings of pity and benevolence were primary force which was operating in those times and which led to the creation of land-grants. They found expression in religious and charitable gifts. The Vijayanagara rulers were highly religious. They expressed this ideal in a variety of forms one was the sign manual Sri Virupaksha inscribed in Kannada characters at the end of their copper-plate documents. This manifests their faith in God and belief that they were his instruments. The religious element contributed to the creation of land grants to Brahmanas and religious institution. The Vijayanagara protected the extensive land grants. Thus, the land grants in its various forms was the product of religious feeling which was particularly intensive during the Vijayanagara period.

2.1 Brahmadaya Grants

Brahmadaya grants refer to the land which was held by Brahmanas. The Brahmana settlement was known as Agraharas. Kings, officials and common people granted lands to Brahmanas. Almost all the

rulers of the period maintained Brahmadaya lands. Giving away lands to Brahmanas was considered as an act of religious merit. Numerous inscriptions of the period substantiate this point. Thus for instance an inscription from Srirangapatna, dated 1446 A.D. says that "the dust of the earth may be counted; the drops of the rain may be counted, but the fruit of grant to Brahmanas cannot be counted even by Brahma".[1] of gold, grain, land, cows were considered to be an act of religious merit.[2] Villagers as Agraharas were granted with the avowed purpose of acquiring religious merit and union with God after the death of donor.[3] An inscription belonged to Vijayanagara period which describes the foundation of an Agrahara in 1403 A.D. contains information about the rewards that donors of land would obtain. It quotes verses from Ithihasas and Puranas on the rewards of the grants of land and the penalties for violating them. Rama's words: Though he grants but a small portion of the earth, he will go to Brahma's abode and not return. Brihaspathi's words: To where there are golden pavilions, where Gandharvas and Apsaras are, there goes the donor of the land and whoever gives villages to a Guru, to the Gods or the Brahmanas, at meritorious times, such wiseman, would go to Brahmana' abode, with 21 generations of his family. After enjoying all the pleasures of his heart desires for many ages, he would be born again as a righteous king. His virtues would be sung in pleasant stories by the Naga Maidens in Patala, hearing which, the serpents there would be filled with pleasure, whose fame is like an awning in Svarga or heaven.[4] Such idealistic religious beliefs contributed to the creation of Brahmadaya tenure.

The same religious zest was exhibited in maintaining such grants. An inscription belonged to the Vijayanagar period records, "A work of merit done even by an enemy one should strive to maintain; the enemy indeed may remain an enemy, but a work of a merit is not an enemy to no one".[5] As a result of this belief, political changes, or changes in

dynastic rule did not affect the continuity of privileges attached to the beneficial tenures in general and Brahmadaya tenure in particular. Now we shall discuss the formation of Agraharas, which were in the stronghold of Brahmadaya land tenure.

The Agrahara was a sarvamanya or revenue free village assigned to learned Brahmans for their sustenance. It existed in the medieval Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Andhra desha as in other parts of the country. The Brahman landlords were known as the Mahajanas. The Mahajana assembly managed the affairs of the Agrahara. In the Vijayanagar times, we have abundant evidence of their existence and corporate economic activity. Their various donations to the temples and other items of public welfare are clear evidence of the point. They looked after the general management and other municipal duties. The Agraharas served the purpose of small University Centres managed by the Mahajanas. The Mahajanas were men of learning. The Agraharas were free from the encroachment of the soldiers and the tax collectors. They were supported by the kings, queens, nobles and by the rich and the poor. It has been rightly said, "the services rendered by these institutions in historical times are really marvelous and eminent".[6] The Agrahara was a feudalized segment in Vijayanagar Empire managing local administration, landed estates, collecting taxes, framing its own rules and regulations.

Agraharas were formed in various ways in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period. The king, or with his consent his officers created them. Either the donee was a single person, who, in his turn distributed shares to others, or the donor himself distributed the land among different shareholders. A few examples of the formation of such Agraharas are given below:

In A.D. 1345, Virammaji Hiriya Pemmaga Nayaka granted to Ranganathabhatta's son Bhavabhuti, Jala in Elahankanad as an Agrahara free of all imposts.[7] In this instance, the donee was a single person. There were Agraharas in Yedenad. An inscription of A.D. 1346 at Hejje, Sorab Taluk, records the gift of the village Heddase (Hejje in Sorab Taluk) by Prince Marapa, younger brother of Harihara I. it describes the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Agrahara. The king built a tank, the sacred spot Heddase on the river Varada, and made up his mind to create an Agrahara nearby. The donee, well versed in all the Vedas, came from Andhradesha, and the Agrahara was named Sangamapura. The names of the donees and the distribution of vrittis are given. The charter was got prepared in the presence of the principal chiefs of the province, and the leading men of the two Agraharas. Their names are given. "The Mahajanas of the two great Agraharas Elase and Kuppagadde in Edenad..... including the headmen (named), and the Mahaprabhus among whom were the heads of villages (named), all these having assembled gave away the village Heddase in order that it might come under their guardianship though it had been previously granted by king Marapa".[8] Here the donor himself distributed the land among different shareholders. Another inscription of A.D. 1368[9] from the village Banavasi in Sirsi Taluk also refers to the joint activity of the Mahajanas of these two agraharas. When Mahamandalesvara Veera Bukkaraya was reigning in Hastinavatipura (Anegondi) and Madhavanka was ruling Banavasi 12000, his servant Ambhalantha (i.e Ahobalanatha) sent word to the Gaudaprajegal in the 18 Kampanas of Gutti and held a meeting at Banavasi. The meeting was attended by the chief citizens of Yedenad comprising the Mahajanas of the Agraharas of Yelase and Kuppagadde. Tammagauda of Sorab, the chief citizens (name given) of village of Tavanidhi, Kesalar, Hechchita in Kondavatinad, Balegahalli, Kuppatur, in Nagarkhanda and Hurule. The meeting was called for conducting the services, personal decorations and festivals of the God in the temple for

ever, applied for help to the Gaudapraje (village headman) of 18 Kampanas (divisions) of Gutti. The nature of the grant made by those assembled is not clear, but some land seems to have been given.

In A.D. 1359[10] Devaraya II granted the village Kannenahalli near Devabetta situated to the south of Hagaharya in Hagaharya sthala of the Rayadurga Kingdom, giving it another name Pratapadevarajendrapura, to Lakshmidhararya, the knower of the purport of the Veda, Vedanta and all sciences, proficient in grammar, logic and philosophy etc. the donee formed the village into 160 vrittis or shares, retained 30 for himself and bestowed the remaining on learned Brahmanas. This is an instance of a single person being the donee, who, in his turn distributed shares to other persons. In A.D. 1364, Madarasa of Mangalura, under the orders of the King Vira-Bukkanna Vodeyar, made gift of the village Pudu-grama to certain Brahmanas free of all taxes.[11] Here the doner himself distributed the shares. In another instance,[12] the donees were Kasmir Brahmanas. The Shikaripur inscription relates how in A.D. 1368 Bukka's minister Madhava established an Agrahara. He petitioned the king, saying, "From the funds of my own property I will carry out your order, give me leave". After obtaining his permission, he purchased at the price of the day, Muchandi, Palasapalli and Tevatta, situated in Nagarkhanda and gave them the name of Vidyesvarapura. He summoned an assembly of learned Kasmir Brahmanas, formed eighty shares, and granted them. We have also the sale deed of the villages above purchased in another inscription.[13]

An inscription of A.D. 1377 from Bachahalli in Krishnarajpet Taluk records, the Harihara II made a grant with all the rights of possession, Bacheyahalli village, with its 13 hamlets (named) belonging to the Kabahu District in the Hosana country, and of the village Dandematigatta with its three hamlets (named), and forming them into

an Agrahara under the name of Immadi-Bukkarajapura and dividing it into 60 Vrittis bestowed the later on various Brahmanas.[14] The Satyamangalam plates of Devaraya II records that in A.D. 1424, he bestowed on eight Brahmanas the Agrahara of Chiteyatpura, which he named Devarayapura after himself.[15] In A.D. 1474, king Virupaksha made over the grant of Prasanna Channakesavapura to Krishnabhatta, who distributed the forty shares of that Agrahara to the Mahajanas". In this instance, the grant was made to a single person who distributed the shares to others. In A.D. 1495, the royal treasurer Devappa Nayaka's son Balanatha granted Narasambu Agrahara to Kaya Nanjinatha Dikshita's son Narasimha Dikshita.[16] Here the donee was a single person. An epigraph of A.D. 1511[17] from Hampedevanahalli, Hospet taluk, records the gift of the village, Hampadevanahalli, surnamed Krishnarayapura to various Brahmanas. Here the king Krishnadevaraya himself distributed the Vritti after establishing the Agrahara.

According to an inscription of A.D. 1512 from Dodda-Jataka in Nagamangala Taluk, Krishnadeva Raya granted the village Hiri-Jattiga, with its four hamlets surnamed Chinnadevipura to Srinivadhavari. He having set apart 10 Vrittis for himself, bestowed the remaining 20 Vrittis on worthy Brahmanas.[18] In A.D. 1513, Krishnadeva Raya, on the application of the minister Tippasoma granted to Visvesvara the village named Bhandaripalli.[19] In A.D. 1516, Krishnadeva-raya granted three villages, namely, Chikkabbehalli together with its three hamlets situated in the Nagamangala kingdom Halavumarahosahalli situated in the Chennapattna Kingdom and Vengenahalli in the Billagondanahalli Kingdom to the virtuous ascetic, Vyasatirtha.[20] In A.D. 1519, minister Saluva Govinda Raja made a grant of Madhavapura in the Ummattur-sime as an Agrahara to Nanjayarasu.[21] In A.D. 1530, Achyuta Raya granted to Venkatesvara-Varayajava, in the Hosakota-Sime, Sambapura as an Agrahara, giving it the new name Achyutamaharayambudhi.

Accepting the proprietorship of the Agrahara, he formed it into 24 shares which he bestowed upon the Mahajanas.[22]

We come across the creation of Agraharas "for the merit of the monarch". A few examples may be given of such Agraharas.

Narayana-dev-wodeyar, son of Mahamandaleshwara Mallappa-Odeyar, in A.D. 1397, for the long life, health and wealth of his father (that is, uncle) Harihara Maharaya established an Agrahara named Pratapa-Hariharapura at the village of Kolatur belonging to Channapattna, and dividing it into 36 shares, bestowed upon the Brahmanas.[23] In A.D. 1495, the Mahamandalesvara Gode-Raya made, to the sons of Timmarasa, the temple priest and others (named), a grant of the Gangadihalli village in Kukkala-nadu belonging to his Nayakship. He gave it another name Timmannarajapura, as an Agrahara in order that merit might be to Immadi Narasingaraya Maharaja.[24] According to Magadi Taluk inscription in A.D. 1520, Saluva-Timmarasaya granted for the merit of Krishnadevaraya, Nagisettihalli to his Aradhya Tataya's wife Nalladayamma in sole possession, as an Agrahara.[25] An epigraph from T. Narasipur Taluk records that merit might accrue to Krishnadevaraya, named the village of Kaluru as Krishnapura, divided it into 37 shares, and presented them to Brahmanas.[26]

Village and Nadu assemblies also established Agraharas. An inscription of A.D. 1379 from Jodi-Lokkondanahalli records that Gauda-prajegal of Hullur were associated with the establishment of an Agrahara, Lakkagondanahalli alies Ramachandrasamudra.[27] In A.D. 1408, all the farmers and subjects of the Araga Eighteen Kampana, and those of the three cities agreeing among themselves, established the Agrahara Nagasamudra.[28]

There is also an instance of the formation of an Agrahara by dancing girls. An inscription of A.D. 1599 from Kunigal relates, that Sringaramma of the Elahankanad, Prabhu Immadi Hiri Kempaya Gauda's state dancing saloon (Pattadanataka-shale), founded Sringarasagara Agrahara.[29] Pattadanataka-shale refers to the dancing hall.

Sometime a village appears to have been founded by the Mahajanas by reclaiming the forests. For example, an inscription at Rajabavanahalli Taluk, Bellary District records that in A.D. 1419, the Mahajanas headed by Hariyanna were granted the village of Hariyasamudra for having founded it by reclaiming the forests, and constructed a tank. The land, under the tank was made free from certain taxes.[30] In another instance, the Brahmanas agreed to spend money to restore a dam which had been breached, and consequently were granted an Agrahara. In A.D. 1417, the Arati Dam breached. Several Brahmanas agreed to expend money and restore the dam so as to form a tank and build there a village named Muluvayi-Nachipura. They were granted the tract of land in which they might cut down the jungle and form fields. It was divided into four parts. One part was given to the temple, and the remaining three parts were to form an Agrahara.[31] In this case the temple priests of Muluvai Nachi-devi agreeing among themselves made the grant. Obviously the land belonged to the temple priests. Muluvai Chavadi consisted of eleven villages.

During the Vijayanagara times, not only were new Agraharas established, but also many old ones which had gone to ruin were revived.

An inscription of A.D. 1346 to which reference was made earlier, gives the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Agrahara of

Heddase (Hejje in Sorab Taluk)by Prince Marappa, younger brother Harihara I.[32]

We have the history of two other Agraharas of Sringapura and Vidyaranyapura Harihara and established the two Agraharas, and forming 250 shares made them over to Vidyaranya-Bharati swami for the worship of the Gods, Mallikarjuna, Vidyasankara-swami and Sharadamma in the Matha. In course of time all the shares had become dispersed, and the common people themselves were in possession. They had made areca plantations, gained large profits, and mortgaged and sold them to one another, without, as was due, making over the money to the maths, Agrahara and temples. Keladi Shivappa Nayaka (A.D. 1645 – A.D. 1660) in A.D. 1652, inquired the whole matter. He put them down and made over the lands to them. He apportioned the money according to the 250 shares formerly fixed for Sringapura and Vidyaranyapura[33] and also for the Matha, Agrahara and Temples.[34] Now we shall discuss the rights and obligations of Brahmana landlords under this tenure.

Generally, the lands or villages held under Brahmadaya tenure were always free from all taxes. The Brahmanas under this tenure did not even pay land revenue on many occasions. They would sell, gift, exchange or mortgage the lands received under this tenure.[35] But sometimes the Brahmanas had to pay a quit-rent which was fixed for eve, so that the holders enjoyed a permanent light assessment. However, they were free from other taxes.[36] Though usually to secure religious merit lands were granted to Brahmanas, a few inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period mention the services that were expected from Brahmanas in return for land grants. But even such services part-took the nature of religion. Among services executed from Brahmanas in return for land grants mention may be made of, reading puranas, Vedas and shastras in temples,[37] for the office of astrologer[38] and for giving

religious instructions.[39] Sometimes land were granted to them for their services in temples as priests.[40] If it were for the purpose of imparting religious instructions, the land grant was termed as Srotriyam[41] and Viyata-Srotra.[42]

Generally under Brahmadaya tenure, the donees at the time of receiving lands or villages, received the ownership rights like gift, mortgage, sale and exchange. However, in exceptional cases inscriptions specifically mention the transfer of only states right to collect revenue from the cultivators of the village so granted to Brahmanas. For example, Kanvapura grant of Harihara II of Vijayanagar dated A.D. 1399 records the gift of the village Kanvapura to certain Brahmins, after it was formed into an Agrahara and dividing the same into Vrittis, at the rate of each Vritti or share to a Brahmana. The inscription, however, mentions that aggregate annual revenue of the village Kanvapura which included land revenue and 19 other taxes, of the value of 276 hons and 5 hanas were to be collected by the Brahmanas from the farmers of Kanvapura village.[43] Here the ownership rights were not transferred to the donees, but they were entitled to the states rights. The grant was termed as Niyata-Srotra and the 27 Vrittidars had to pay cuit-rent of 20 hons to the state. The farmers of Kanvapura village were formerly (i.e., before the formation of Agrahara) paying revenue to the state, but with the effect of this royal grant they had to pay the same amount of revenue to the 27 Vrittadars, mentioned in the inscription. In other words, the tenure before the issue of royal grant was that of ryotwari or individual tenure or joint-tenure. But the royal grant converted the ryotwari tenure into an Inam tenure which in this case may be termed as Brahmadaya tenure, as the grant was made for the Brahmanas. As a result of the conversion of ryotwari into Inam tenure, the Vijayanagara government lost its revenue to that extent the farmers of Kanvapura were not tied to 27 Vrittidars or share holders. Those Vrittidars did not have ownership in

the lands of the village. They merely received right to collect the revenue. But in many cases the Brahmanas under this tenure received not only ownership rights, but also the exemption from paying land revenue and other taxes. This was the general feature of the period under study.

Brahmadaya villages were usually divided with a number of Vrittis or shares, and donated to the Brahmanas.[44] The shares of land in Brahmadaya villages were either enjoyed as Ekabhogyam or Ganabhogyam. Under Ekabhogyam, lands were held by one family only, in perpetuity; whereas under Ganabhogyam lands were enjoyed in common.[45] Under Ekabhogyam tenure the Brahmana donee was to be in full and unlimited possession of the land granted and had the sole and entire right of enjoyment of landed property with anyone else. If the terms of the land grant allowed it, he could sell it to others, only right of enjoyment of the fruits from the lands in times of necessity. Thus for instance, one Ramachandra Dikshita was granted a village as Sarvamanya on Ekabhogyam tenure by Achyutharaya of Vijayanagar[46] to be enjoyed by him and his descendants. But he shared the part of the land among the Brahmanas of his sect.

In this connection, we may present here a detailed analysis of an inscription from Kollegal dated A.D. 1392, belonging to the reign of Harihara II.[47] It refers to various aspects of Brahmadaya land tenures. It records the establishment of a Brahmakshetra around Kamparaja-pattana. Brahmakshetra means land holdings belonged to the Brahmanas. On the order of the King Harihara II, the prajegaudas of Kamparajapattana gave a stone charter to about 102 Brahmanas belonging to different gotras. Each Brahmana donee received a land holding with the sowing capacity ranging from ½ khanduga or 2½ khandugas. Details are given below.

List showing the quantity of land, names of the Brahmanas and their gotra living in Kamparajapattana.

Sl. No.	Quantity of land	Name of the Brahmana	Gotra
1.	One Khanduga	Lakshuma	Atreya
2.	1 ½ Khanduga	Alagaperumale	Atreya
3.	2 ½ “	Vedasaraswathi	Vadhula gotra
4.	2 “	Keshavanatha Dikshita	?
5.	2 “	Attalanatha Dikshita	Viswamitra
6.	2 “	Krushna Dikshita	Viswamitra
7.	2 “	Tiruvali Dikshita	Kasyapa gotra
8.	2 ½ “	Mange-Vupadhya	Kundina
9.	½ “	Alagiya-Vedada Upadhya	Bharadvaja
10.	1 “	Srirama Bhatta	Bharadvaja
11.	1 “	Modaliya Upadhya	Shathamarshan a
12.	2 “	Yajnanarana Dikshita	Kasyapa
13.	1 “	Madhava Dikshita	Atreya
14.	2 “	Karumanikararsayya	?
15.	1 “	Ramakrishna Dikshita	
16.	1 ? ?	Mahajana-desada Krishna Dikshita	?
17.	2 “	Narayana Dikshita	Bharadvaja
18.	? “	?	Kasyapa
19.	2 “	Manikachari	Viswamitra
20.	2 “	Krishna Dikshita	Gautama
21.	2 “	Ananta Dikshita	Kaundina
22.	1 “	Varanasi	Bharadvaja
23.	1 “	?	Kashyapa
24.	1 “	?	Kaundina
25.	2 “	Sarvarakritu (one who perform all kinds of sacrifices)	Gavishthira Gotra

26.	1	"	Krishnabhatta Dikshita	?
27.	1	"	….. pada Dikshita	Atreya
28.	1	"	Ayama-Dikshita	Atreya
29.	1	"	Allalanatha of Rigveda	Of Sita?
30.	2	"	Allalanatha –Upadhya	Vasista
31.	1	"	De…..?	Vadhula
32.	1	"	Madhava	Kaushika
33.	1	"	Narappa	Vasist
34.	1	"	Ba….raya	Gavishthira
35.	1	"	Priya ….	Kausika
36.	1	"	Varada-Vanpadhya	Purukutsa
37.	1	"	Hastigirinatha	Atreya
38.	1	"	Perumalu	Kaundina
39.	1	"	Allala-Perumalu	Kasyapa
40.	1	"	Sriranganatha	Atreya
41.	1	"	Varadaraja	Kavusika
42.	1	"	Allalanatha	Atreya
43.	1	"	Perumala	Gautama
44.	1	"	Devana	Bharadvaja
45.	1	"	Perumalu	Lohita
46.	1	"	Harikirtana-bhatta	Bharadvaja gotra
47.	2	"	Ayupadhya	Vasishta
48.	1	"	Ananta	Vatsa
49.	2	"	Vishnu	Atreya
50.	1	"	Perumalu	Bharadvaja
51.	1	"	Perumalu	Gautama
52.	2	"	Gangapa	Visvamitra
53.	2	"	Allalanatha-deva	Vasishta
54.	1	"	Allala-perumalu	Kausika

55.	1 “	Bharmambaru	Kasyapa
56.	1 “	Allala	Bharadvaja
57.	V	Acha	Gangga
58.	1 “	Perallalanatha	?
59.	1 “	Lagadeya Perumalu	Vatsa
60.	1 “	Narayana ---	Kasyapa
61.	½ “	Pa.....?	Bhradvaja
62.	1 “	Acha ---	?
63.	1 “	Vengada	Atreya
64.	1 “	Gargga	?
65.	1 “	Ananda	Bharadvaja
66.	1 “	Sriranganatha	Atreya
67.	1 “	...ttalagiya-dikshita	Atreya
68.	2 “	Allappa---	Kausika
69.	2 “	Harikathavallabha	Kausika
70.	1 “	Ramapiranupadhya	Vatsa
71.	1 “	......le	Kaudina
72.	1 “	Perumale	Atreya
73.	1 “	Gaurana.....	Kapila
74.	1 “	......Sakuna-bhatta	Harita
75.	1 “	.....Achauna	Vasistha
76.	1 “	Anantpa	Gavishthira
77.	1 “	Natha (?)	Gargga
78.	1 “	Appana...	Vatsa
79.	1 “	Madhavakrishna	Kapila
80.	1 “	Nagapa of Nagaluru	?
81.	1 “	Adityadeva....	Bhargava
82.	1 “	Mayana	Vasishtha
83.	1 “	Karumanika desika	Kausika

84.	1 “	Appa	Kasyapa
85.	1 “	Allalanatha	Kundina
86.	1 “	……	?
87.	2 “	Mahachariya-bhatta	Viswamitra
88.	1? “	Krishnanatha	Viswamitra
89.	1 “	Somappa	?
90.	1 “	Ananta-narayana	Kundina
91.	1 “	Lakhana	Visrasvamitra
92.	1 “	Nagappa	Kundina
93.	1 “	?	Kaundika
94.	1 “	…. Sriramabhatta	Charana
95.	1 “	Allala	Kasyapa
96.	1 “	?	Srivatsa
97.	1 “	?	Bharadvaja
98.	1 “	Ananthanarayana	Vatsa
99.	1 “	Acharya	Vasishta
100	1 “	Perumala	?
101	1 “	Valigha (?)	?
102	1 “	Keluva Racharasa	?
Total : 125 Khandugas 102 Brahmanas			

Under Ganabhogyam the donees hold lands in common lands was distributed equally among the donees. A variation in this type may also be noted. Lands were divided among the Brahmana donees. But the cultivation was carried in common. The produce was shared by the donees, according to the share each had. Thus an inscription from Kadur dated A.D. 1346, records that “All the Brahmanas of the immemorial Agrahara of Hiriyanallur, at the time of the settlement of Tayyalarakere and Batteyur[48] made an agreement on stone as follows: Of the 300 shares of wet-land under the Heggade tank at Tayyalarakere all the

money rent and grain rent belong to the Brahmanas who hold these shares (the same as 30 shares in Battiyur). The fixed rent that is received for the two villages will be divided equally between the holders of the 60 shares.

We have an interesting piece of evidence which indicates how Vijayanagara kings took minute attention in the procedure of granting Brahmadaya lands. Thus an inscription from Koppa Taluk dated A.D. 1418 and belonged to the time of Harihara, gives the following account of the procedure that was usually adopted while granting Brahmadaya lands: "Harihara created an Agrahara called Hariharapura. It was granted free of imposts. The donees were Peddanna Naganniah and other Brahmanas. After granting the Agrahara, the king sent an order to the Governor of Araga, directing him to distribute the tenants paying assessment to that Agrahara. The reason for distributing tenants for the Agrahara was that there might not arise any trouble between government tenants and those of the villages of the Agrahara. To execute the order of the king, the Governor called Heggades (headmen, named) of the villages of the Agrahara. The Governor asked him to make a division of tenants who would pay assessment to the Agrahara. Accordingly Arasanna Heggade distributed the tenants to Agrahara. Then he gave a patte or roll of assessment to the donees stating that these tenants (mentioned in the patte) were not to be molested either by the king or the nada. Then follows the names of tenants as contained in the patte and the amount to be paid by them in money to the Agrahara.[49]

The Vijayanagara kings also undertook of restoring ruined Agraharas and completely controlled its activities by appointing a manager to look after the affairs of the Agraharas which had been restored.[50]

The Brahmana donees of the Agrahara during the Vijayanagara period, often regulated the affairs concerning the lands for themselves. An important regulation in the villages held by Brahmanas as share-holders was that outsiders were not to be allowed to get any right or share by purchase or by grant. The Brahmanas were anxious that no outsider should get any benefit by the purchase of such lands or shares. An inscription in Malavalli Taluk in Mysore district registers an agreement among the Brahmanas and Shareholders. If any one mortgaged or sold his share to Sudras, he was put out of the Brahmin community and such share was not considered to have belonged to that place.[51]

The Brahmanas of Brahmadaya villages provided loans to cultivators when they were in distress and constructed irrigation works with their own funds.[52]

Another inscription from Mandya district records an agreement among the Mahajanas of the Agrahara. It is stated that the right of possession remained only for as long as the person remained in that place while it ceased when he left the place.[53]

The Brahmanas of Brahmadaya villages provided loans to cultivators when they were in distress and constructed irrigation works with their own funds for the purpose of improving agriculture.[54]

What emerges from the above is that of the saptangas or seven organs of the state power mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources, taxation system and coercive power based on the army are rightly regarded as two vital elements. If they are abandoned, the state power disintegrates. But this is the position created by the grants made to the Brahmanas in Agraharas. The inscriptions of the period which created

this tenure mention the time limit as “A Chandrarka Vagi” or as long as the existence of the sun and moon, which implies the permanent break-up of the integrity of the state.

Thus the widespread practice of making land grants in the Vijayanagara period paved the way for the rise of Brahmana feudatories, who performed administrative functions not under the authority of the royal officers but almost independently. Whatever might be the intensions of the donors, the grants helped to create powerful intermediaries, wielding considerable economic and political power. As the number of the land owning Brahmanas went on increasing, some of them gradually shed their priestly functions and turned their chief attention to the management of land; in their case secular functions became more important than religious functions. But above all, as a result of land grants made to the Brahmanas, the comprehensive competence based on centralized control gave way to decentralization. The functions of the collection of taxes, levy of forced labour, regulation of agriculture etc., together with those of the maintenance of law and order, and defence were given over first to the priestly class, and later to the Amaranayakas or the warrior class.

Vijayanagara grants from Karnataka confer the right of enjoying the revenues from land in perpetuity on the Brahmana grantee, but rarely do not authorize him to alienate or grant his rents or land (or Vritti) to others.

Under this tenure, in return for land grants the Brahmanas were obliged to render religious services, which might secure the spiritual welfare of the donors or their ancestors. The secular obligations of the Brahmana beneficiaries under this tenure are rarely laid down. The negative obligations like that Brahmana landed intermediaries living in

Agraharas were not to conspire against the king and the kingdom, commit theft and adultery, slay brahmanas, and poison kings, not wage war and do wrong to other villages, were probably taken for granted in the charters of Vijayanagara period. These negative obligations imply that the Brahmanas enjoyed land under this tenure on condition that they would not act in opposition to the established social and political system.

But it is natural to expect that the Brahmana landlords more than repaid their generous donors and patrons by maintaining law and order under their charge and impressing upon the people the sacred duty of carrying out their varna functions and of obeying the king who in this period, as recorded in Amuktamalyada of Krishnadevaraya, was represented as embodying in his person the attributes of various Gods. Hence whatever may have been the intensions of the donors, it would be wrong to think that this land tenure served only religious purposes. Certainly the priests who held land under this tenure prayed for the spiritual well-being of the donors and their ancestors, and never supplied any soldiers as the Bishops in England did, but there was no need for military service if the people could be persuaded to behave themselves and to acquiesce in the existing order.

2.2 Devadaya Grants

So far we have discussed the Brahmadaya tenure. Now, we shall take up for consideration the Devadaya land tenure or the lands granted to temples. During the period under review, most of lands of which grants have survived were endowed to temples. Most of the donations were made by kings, queens, or their officials or by private persons or by village communities.

As in the case of Brahmadaya lands, here also we notice the fact that the main purpose of granting lands to temples was to acquire religious merit. Though this was the common purpose, we get references to many interesting purposes for which lands were granted to temples.

Kings usually granted lands to temples with a view to 'secure a strong empire'[55] or kings' birthday presents to temples in lands and villages with an expectation that their government might continue as long as sun and moon.[56] To record their visits to temples, they often granted lands and villages.[57] People donated lands to temples to secure the four objects of human desire, namely Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, or in order that merit and prosperity might accrue to the donors' relatives.[58] But, however, temples received lands for specific services to be conducted in temples. Besides, usual services to the deities, we get interesting references to services that were conducted in temples. Among them mention may be made of the following: (a) for those who played tambourine,[59] Nagaswaras and drums,[60] (b) for dancing girls in temples,[61] (c) for continual recitation of the Vedas, Puranas and Shastras in temples,[62] (d) for conducting the car-festival of the Gods of the temples,[63] (e) for white-washing and sweeping,[64] (f) for the management of the land of the temples. The manager of the temple was known as Sthanika.[65]

From the above we can conclude that services in temples for which lands and villages were granted by the donees in this period, took several forms. These services may be classified into two: (a) occasional and (b) continual. Under occasional services come, services such as conducting car-festival, white washing, or sweeping and repair etc. Management of temple lands, reciting Vedas, Shastras, Puranas in temples, playing musical instruments, drums etc. come under continual services.

On holidays like Shivarathri or auspicious days like the Sun's Eclipse lands were granted to temples as it was considered to be an act of merit.[66] With pouring of water and a coin very commonly, lands were granted to temples.[67] However, the same practice was followed in the case of all the land-grants. The composers and engravers of land grant of temples often received lands from the donors.[68]

Besides the gifts and endowments received 'from kings and private persons, the temples of Karnataka acquired property in various other ways. Many people who had so sons bequeathed their property to the temple.[69] Besides, temples were acting as land mortgage banks. Many inscriptions substantiate this point. Whenever cultivators fell short of money to carry out agricultural operations, they used to borrow money from the temple treasury.[70] When the time of the mortgage was expired, the temple fortified the lands to the treasury. Thus an inscription records that some persons (named) borrowed 22 ½ varahas from the temple treasury, through Appaji Senabova of Koppa. They pledged an areca garden (specified). But the inscription further records the time expressed in these agreements have expired, Appaji Senabova assigned the lands as endowments to the temple.[71] The record of such agreements was known as Bhogyadiyapatra or "Deed of Mortgage".[72] Some times parents pledged their lands to temples in order to meet the expenses of the marriage of their children and for other purposes.[73] Whenever lands were granted to temples the grantee had to provide details regarding how he acquired such lands. For example, one Pandya Nayaka set up a God and granted the following lands to provide the offerings: the details of the property of Svastivivara, runs thus:-

(a) Manjravalligalli Hostage Navu-Kadidu madisida bhumi Bijavari Kha 6 (b) Bharadvaja gotrade etc .... Narasamangala Kayyiyari Kryakke Kond-bhumi.... kraya gadyana 42 varaha: (c) Bommarasa Heggade Kyyi (Yalli) Krayakke konda gadde.[74]

The village assemblies also created Devadaya land tenures during the Vijayanagara period. A few examples may be given:

Chakkare village was situated in Barakura-rajya. It has an Uru (assembly). In A.D. 1364 the thirty families of the village Chakkare and other made a gift of 12 honnus and plots of dry and wet-fields (specified) for the service of the God Kotisvara.[75]

Kundapura, situated in Barakura rajya had an assembly. In A.D. 1425, the inhabitants of Kundapura or Gramajagattu assembled at the instance of the officer (governor), Narasimhadeva Odeya, and restored the land, once granted by Devanna Senabova of Kudekur for the service of the God Kundesvara.[76]

In A.D. 1429, the village Gajanur was gifted with all the rights by the Gaudas of the village Honganniyahalli for the service of food offerings and perpetual lamp for the God Divyalingeshvara of the village Haradanahalli in Yennenad. The expression used in the inscription is Halligramada Samasta Gavudugalu.[77]

An epigraph records the grant of a plot of land for the services of the God by Narapagavuda of Avati for the merit of his father in the reign of Devaraya, king of Vijayanagara. The gift was made with the consent of the inhabitants of the village Kakati (Prajegala Anumatiyinda).[78]

The Maddur assembly appears to have continued to function under the Vijayanagara rulers as before. The Mahajanas and Gauda Prajegal of Maddur granted some land and tax collections of the village Maddur for the services of feeding pilgrims, recitation of Vedas, etc., in the temple of Desinatha.[79]

Again in A.D. 1506, the Gauda Prajegalu of Chikkahalli made a grant of land for the God Mallikarjuna of their village.[80]

An epigraph from Kadur Taluk records that in A.D. 1540, the subjects and farmers made a grant to the God Virabhadra of Kadur.[81]

Thus these temples had acquired, (at least some of them, though not all) a huge landed property. They may be compared with big land-lords. As the owner of a vast agricultural lands, temple was also a large employer. Thus for instance, an inscription from Kolar District, informs us that a particular temple had employed fifty two families for service in it and that it remunerated them by grants of land.[82]

An landlords, temples leased out lands to tenants on various conditions. Temple lands were managed by Sthanikas. They gave saguvaliya vole or cultivation roll to the men who under took cultivation of the temple lands, with a description of quality, measurement and the share of the produce to be given by the tenants. According to the rule for cultivation of rice-fields to the temple, lands under tanks were granted on contract for cultivation on half-share. When the water in the tank failed and crop was lost, the temple and tenants agreed to share equally the loss. "If the water in the tank is insufficient, and it has to be lifted, we (temple authorities) will reduce the contract in the same proportion as those in the neighbourhood". For sugarcane, ginger and turmeric the rates were mentioned.[83] This type of agreement between the landlords and tenants was known as Vara[84] or the crop-sharing system which continued throughout the period. Buchanan at the end of A.D. 1800 noticed this system in different parts of Karnataka. This system was the best mode of assessment in a country where the quantity of rain was uncertain. If the rains did not come, the tenant could not pay his rent

and vice-versa.[85] Temples received shares from tenants both in cash and in kind every year.[86]

Besides the rent, for the occupation of temple lands, the tenant had to pay certain dues. Such dues in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period were collectively known as Dhanyadaya. Dhanyadaya consisted of eleven dues and they were: (1) Tirumala-Kanike, (2) Haludu, (3) Hostu, (4) Gramavechcha, (5) Bitti, (6) Birada, (7) Sollage, (8) Avudu, (9) Bedige, (10) Bijavari, (11) Solage.[87] We can assume that roughly the same number of dues must have been collected by temples in other parts of Karnataka also.

The attention of temples was not merely confined to the collection of rent and dues, they also paid attention to the maintenance of irrigation works. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1442 the Sthanikas or managers of a certain temples granted lands to a certain person in connection with a virgin tank.[88] Sometimes agreements concerning who should maintain irrigation works were recorded between temples and tenants. But before such agreements were reached, it was essential, during the Vijayanagara period to take the consent of the King.[89]

Temples were, in one way, instrumental in extending agriculture. Because, often kings by restoring the ruined villages, granted them to temples. It not only provided employment to many, but it also helped many tenants who got liberal leases from temples.[90] Thus in away, the restoration and subsequent donation of villages, which though considered to be an act of religious merit, acted as an economic improvement by adding more arable lands to the lands that had already been under cultivation.

The rulers of Vijayanagar were very careful to see that whether the income of lands was properly utilized by temple authorities for the purposes for which it had been granted. Thereby they used to control the temple administration concerning lands. Thus, for instance, when Devaraya II granted some lands, he asked one Ramanujayya to remain in the Matha, and be responsible for the distribution of food, the offering to the Goddess, and payments to servants. If any funds left over, he should use them for white-washing, sweeping and keeping the place clean.[91]

2.3 Mathapura Land Grants

Lands held by the Mathas or monasteries of different sects of Hinduism is known as Mathapura land tenure of all the Mathas in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period, Shringeri Matha was very famous and it emerged as very big landed magnate as a result of extensive donations made by the Vijayanagara rulers and their feudatories. Hence an in-depth analysis of the inscription of Shringeri Jagir give us an idea of the growth of Mathapura tenure during the period under review. The same is discussed here below.

The term 'Shringeri Jagir' refers to the Sarvamanya or rent-free landed estates belonging to the Matha or monastery of the Smartha Brahmanas located in the present day Chickmagalur district of Karnataka. Throughout its existence the Jagadguru or the pontiff of the Matha was the proprietor of the landed estates. In fact it was organized as a sort of state within the state without any outside interference. As a socio-economic unit the study of the Matha's records yield very interesting information and throw considerable light on the inner mechanism of Inam tenure held by such religious organizations. The rise and fall of the dynasties in the region hardly affected the agrarian integration of the Matha. In recent times under the Wodeyars of Mysore

the Shringeri Jagir was administered in imitation of the Mysore revenue system. On this basis it may safely be assumed that the Jagir was administered on the model of Vijayanagara revenue system between the 14^{th} and 16^{th} centuries and on Keladi model between 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries.

As regards the extent of the Jagir, it may be noted that at the beginning of the present century, it was about 8 miles long and 6 miles wide. The Tunga river ran through the Jagir from South-West to North-East. It consisted 2 hoblis namely Shringeri and Melupala. There were altogether 24 villages, with a population of 9264 and out of which 5749 people were living in Shringeri hobli and 3515 in Melupala hobli. The Jagir was entirely within the region of pure Malnad or hilly areas. The Jagir received abundant rainfall and primarily produced rice and arecanut. The Jagir yielded yearly revenue of Rs. 50,000 in the beginning of this century. The Wodeyar's Government of Mysore was giving Rs. 1000/- a month to the Matha. With the Jagir, there were 40 temples of different sizes, and each temple had some Inam land or money grant of its own. In addition to this there were several Agraharas or Brahmana settlements with land grants attached to them.[92] Thus the Shringeri Jagir represented a fully integrated agrarian set-up controlled by a prominent religious organization.

There are three important kinds of sources for the study of the Shringeri Jagir: 1) Inscriptions, both stone and copper plate. There are more than 30 published inscriptions concerning the Jagir which range from the 14^{th} to 18^{th} centuries. They throw light on the agrarian administration to the Jagir. (2) The Matha has about 200 sannads or orders of the various royal families of the region. Most of them record the grant of land or concessions made to the Matha, by the rulers of Ikkeri, Coorg, Belur, Jagali, Mysore and Hyderabad. These Sannadas are

interesting from the point of view of socio-economic study of the Shringeri Jagir. For instance one Sannad says that no interest higher than 12 percent per annum could be made over to the charge of the Matha and that the unclaimed property within certain limits of the Jagir should go to the Matha. Another Sannad says that Devangas or persons belonging to the weavers caste should not wear sacred thread and Markas should not follow the customs of Brahmanas within the limits of the Jagir. These Sannads are yet to be trapped fully for this purpose. 3) There are several cart loads of Kaditas in the Matha which are more than two centuries old. A Kadita is a cloth covered with charcoal paste folded in the form of book written with pencil of poststone. Most of the Kaditas contain the accounts concerning the Jagir.[93] In this section an attempt has been made to study the origin, growth and management of the landed estates of the Jagir, based mostly in the published inscriptions belonged to the medieval period.

The agrarian origin of the Jagir may be traced back to the early 14th century when Vidyaranya, the pontiff of the Matha received rich endowments in lands around Shringeri from the Sangama brothers namely Harihara and Bukka, in recognition of Vidyaranya's services in laying the foundation of Vijayanagara empire. Now the question arises as to the exact nature of service rendered by Vidyaranya. Broadly speaking, he helped Harihara and Bukka and other Sangama brothers in two ways: 1) In order to bring back Harihara and Bukka to the fold of Hinduism from Islam (who had been previously converted to Islam by Sultan Muhammad Tugluq at Delhi where they had been taken as captives after the fall of Kampili Anegondi kingdom), it needed a spiritual leader of his eminence and to render the act generally acceptable to Hindu society. It was not a small service. (2) He brought mass support for the efforts of Harihara and Bukka. Here we see Brahma dharma supporting Kshatra dharma and Danda and Brahma, spiritual domain and the temporal

domain or religious and political forming an alliance in their mutual interests. The tangible expression of this gratitude to Shringeri Matha was the creation of an extensive rent-free agrarian unit for the purpose of providing it a material basis and a sense of prestige to the Matha. The footsteps of the Sangama brothers were welcomed by others until recent times.

Numerous inscriptions give us an idea of how this Matha came to acquire landed property and how it managed them. The Matha acquired landed property in two ways: 1) Royal benefactions, (2) grants from local bodies, private persons and purchase. Regarding royal benefactions, it may be said that Vijayanagara rulers established the tradition of granting lands and villages to the Matha which was later on followed by their successors in Karnataka. Numerous Inscriptions of this Matha have been published in Epigraphia Carnatica series.[94]

Recognizing the services of Vidyaranya in the establishment of Vijayanagara Empire, Harihara I, along with other Sangama brothers visited the Matha in 1346 A.D. and richly endowed it with land grants.[95] They also at the same time founded the Agraharas of Shringeri and Vidyaranyapura which adjoined one another. Bukka I granted in 1356 A.D. lands to the Matha in Kikundanadu which was valued 222½ varahas.[96] In order to understand the extent and value of the property in terms of varahas, we have to find out the purchasing power of a varaha. One inscription points out that about 41 varahas could buy an areca garden consisted of 2500 trees and a rice land with a sowing capacity of 137 ½ khandugas.[97] From this, we may well imagine the extensive holdings donated by Bukka I in the second half of the fourteenth century.

In A.D. 1380 Harihara II consolidated and confirmed all the previous grants. The total value of all the lands of Shringeri Mutt at this time was 3003 paGodas and this gave to the Mutt the name of Murusavira Sime.[98] In A.D. 1392 Harihara II founded an agrahara called Hariharapura which was attached to the Matha.[99] Devaraya II granted the village Manjugani in the Honnavara kingdom,[100] and the villages Kelagundani and kaigai in the Goa kingdom. The Conjeevaram plates[101] of Krishnadeva Raya record the grant of two villages of Podavur and Kattupattu and at the time of the grant the name of the village Podavur was changed into Krishnarayapuram. Further in 1527 he granted the village of Udayambakkam and changed the name of the village at the time of the grant as Krishnarapura.[102] This indicates that Shringeri Mutt had landed property extending over a wide areas like in and around Shringeri, Goa, Tamilnadu and different parts of Karnataka. Even the Muslim rulers of Bijapur did not disturb the Manya lands of the Mutt. A letter issued by the Bijapur general Ranadulla Khan in response to a letter from the Shringeri Mutt directing his officers to enforce obedience to the orders of the Mutt in the collection of produce etc., in their Manya lands, has been published.[103] The rulers of Vijayanagara paid close attention to the administration of the lands of the Mutt. The disputes concerning Mutt lands were decided by the rulers of Vijayanagara. Thus for instance, an inscription records the fact that a village headman and peasants of the Mutt villages often raised opposition against the Mutt lands. Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara directed the village headman etc., of certain villages belonging to the Mutt to obey the Shringeri Mutt Gurus as their masters, as the above were entitled to these disputed villages from the beginning. Apparently, there must have been some dispute between the Mutt and peasants about the ownership. During the ascendancy of the empire the Mutt flourished. But, after 1565 when the empire declined and when political confusion set in, particularly between A.D. 1565 and A.D. 1642, the landed property of the Matha fell into

ruins. Lands were appropriated by any one who could seize them. Keladi kings remedied the state of things. In A.D. 1621 Venkatappa Nayaka re-established Shringeri Mutt (Punar prathistapaneya madida).[104]

"In course of time the whole of that having become dispersed and the common people (Prajadharmadavaru) themselves being in possession in the lands formerly granted by the king for the Matha, Agrahara and temples. These common people having made areca plantations, gained large profits, and mortgaged and sold them to one another, without paying the money to the Matha".[105]

And later in A.D. 1652, on the representation of Sachidananda Bharathi, the Guru of the time, who visited the king at the capital Bidanur, for the purpose, Shivappanayaka held an enquiry into the matter, regained the lands of the Matha from those who had unlawfully got hold of them and restored them to its possession and enjoyment.[106]

Another Nirupa or order dated A.D. 1656 of Sivappanayaka runs thus: "Information has been received that some tenants of the Shringeri Mutt in Mangalore-sime are playing mischief without making due payments" and he ordered his son-in-law to send for the tenants and see that the amount due was paid.[107] Thus Keladi rulers and even Mysore Wodeyars continued the tradition of Vijayanagara in this respect.

In addition to royal benefactions, the Mutt also acquired lands and villages from local bodies and private grants. It also acquired property by purchase. A few instances from A.D. 1392,[108] A.D. 1401,[109] A.D. 1406,[110] A.D. 1408,[111] A.D. 1419,[112] A.D. 1458,[113] and A.D. 1547[114] occur in inscriptions. All these instances come from Sagar taluk, Shimoga district.

Thus the Shringeri Matha was a rich land-owner. Expenses were mostly connected with uneconomic activities like feeding the Brahmanas and distribution of food and clothes on festival days and payment to those Brahmanas who imported mostly religious instructions in Sanskrit to their own caste and which did not have any universal appeal. However, as the Matha symbolized the substance of Hindu Dharma in its orthodox form and whose promotion was the foremost objective of the Vijayanagara rulers and their successors, they considered it a duty to provide the Matha with a material basis in the form of land grants which was after all a primary necessity for its material existence and functions.

The fact that Shringeri Mutt as a landlord bestowed minute attention to the administration of landed estates thus acquired through royal benefactions, grants from village assemblies, private persons and purchase, may be gathered from inscriptions. All the landed properties were properly valued in terms of money which indicates that mostly crops raised on Mutt lands were cash crops. Thus in the case of garden lands, particularly arecanut gardens which the Mutt held in the around Shringeri and in many places of Sagar taluk, Shimoga district where arecanut, as a cash crop was raised in plenty, the number of trees were the basis of calculation. Thus an inscription of the Matha (1695 A.D.) mentions an areca garden consisting of 2500 areca trees whose value was 27 varahas and 5 hanas. 10 hanas was equal to one varaha. On that basis 275 hanas was worth 2500 acreca trees, or one hana was equal to roughly 81 trees.[115]

The rice lands of the Matha were measured in terms of sowing capacity of the land and its value was expressed in terms of money. Thus an inscription (A.D. 1695) mentions 137½ khandugas of rice-land was rated 13 varahas, 7 hanas and one haga.[116] Another epigraph (A.D. 1758) mentions that 170 salage of rice land rated 120 honnu and 55

salage of rice land was rated 55 honnu.[117] Here Khandugas and salages denote the sowing capacity of the land in question.

Sometimes the Matha's landed property was mentioned in terms of how much it would yield per year in cash and its value in terms of money. Thus an inscription dated A.D. 1621 mentions lands yielding an annual income of 45 varahas and they were purchased for 300 varahas. Here the epigraph does not mention the area of lands.[118]

The Matha lands were let on contract or Guttige basis to the tenants. Inscriptions of the Matha mention Guttige rates for areca trees. In A.D. 1547 65,000 arecanuts were fixed as Guttige for a garden consisting of 500 trees.[119] Besides Guttige, the Matha also collected Siddaya of 7 hanas for 500 areca trees.[120] Another inscription dated A.D. 1642 mentions that Siddaya or fixed rent for 1000 areca trees was one varaha.[121] At the rate of existed in A.D. 1547 namely 7 hanas for 500 trees, the Siddaya for 1000 trees should have been 14 hanas or 1 varaha and 4 hanas, in A.D. 1642. But Siddaya in A.D. 1642 was actually one varaha or 10 hanas. It indicates the reduction in the role of Siddaya between A.D. 1547 and A.D. 1542. this reduction was probably due to the fact that Matha tried to attract more peasants to look after its garden lands and this was possible only by reduction of rent.

Two variations of Guttige, namely Mula-guttige and Srotra-guttige occur in the inscriptions of the Matha.[122] The term Mula-guttige refers to the fact that the tenants who held lands under this contract were not evicted at the will of the Matha and they held lands on hereditary basis, even though such lands were to be sold to others by the Matha. Srotra-guttige means lands leased out to a Brahmana by the Matha so that the former would render a specific duty, (mostly imparing religious

instructions) to the latter. All these indicate the nature of the management of lands by the Matha.

What emerges from the above is that in the pre- Vijayanagar period the gurus of the Matha did not have to manage any Jagirs and land endowments. Shringeri was mainly a centre of religion and philosophy. But in the first half of the 14th century it acquired manya lands and villages and temporal power within its jurisdiction. Rich lands, money, gold materials, Birudus and other trappings of monarchical-like powers converted the simple hermitage into an "imperium etc., impera", or "semi-sovereign state". Shringeri became a Samsthana, a Murusavira-sime and the pontiff became Jagadguru.

From the humble beginning of about nine villages namely Heddase, Honnahole, Babbi, Haravari, Beluru, Ambaluru, Belanduru, Halaka, and Hosuru in Kelanadu in A.D. 1346, the feudal holdings of the Matha at the beginning of the present century consisted of 24 villages with a population of 9264 in an area of about 8 miles long and 6 miles wide. The Jagir was entirely within the region of pure Malnad or hilly areas. Availability of plenty of water and wood and with an annual average rainfall of 116 inches, natural beauty, comparative isolation from major cities promoted the agrarian integration of the Jagir under its religious leader. The physical and natural environment of the Jagir were well suited to the wet cultivation, particularly food and commercial crops like rice, sugarcane and arecanut.

Some quantitative data contained in the Jagir's inscriptions may help us to interpret a few things connected with the agrarian conditions, within the samsthana. First, the term "Murusavira sime, used in connection with its annual income of 3003 paGoda in the 14th century. PaGoda is another term for gadyana which was a gold coin in circulation

during the Vijayanagara period. It is pointed out that one gadyana of the time of Vijayanagara period, weighing 96 grains was equal to ½ tola of gold on this basis it may be noted that a gadyana issued by Harihara II and in whose reign the Jagir's income was calculated as 3003 paGodas, was equal to 52.8 grains or roughly ¼ tola of gold. So 3003 paGoda or gadyanas means in terms of solid gold comes to about 750 tolas and this was the revenue of the Jagir during the reign of Harihara II. On the other hand the income of the Jagir was about Rs. 60,000 in A.D. 1897. The money was spent mostly on uneconomic purposes like feeding the Brahmanas, and distribution of food and clothing on festival days like Navarathri. The Matha often experienced deficit budget and in order to balance the budget, the jagadguru was constantly engaged in long and protracted tours through various parts for the purpose of receiving contributions from his disciples.

There was a process of sub-infeudation of landed estates within the samasthana's Jagir. This may be noted in several inscriptions. Generally Brahmanas leased the lands from the pointiff on Guttige or srotria Guttige basis. It appears from the inscriptions that the pointiff or the owner of the Sarvamanya estates exercised considerable amount of influence in allotting lands to Brahmana tenants. The Guttige given by one pointiff was not necessarily honoured by another pointiff who succeeded the former. Since Brahmana Vrittidars could not till the lands thus leased from the pointiff as Vrittis, they further leased this out on Guttige basis to the actual tillers of the soil or primary producers. These primary producers on many occasions mentioned as belonging to the caste of Devaramakkalu. The Brahmana Vrittidars who had received lands on condition of payment of annual rent to the Matha, did not actually live in the village where they held Vrittis or land holdings. They were a sort of absentee landlords.

Shringeri Jagir inscriptions often record dispute between the Devaramakkalu caste of tillers and the Brahmana Vrittidars. If a Brahamana Vrittidar found it unable to manage a village on his own, then he adopted the technique of multiple control. It means with the permission of the overlord, namely the jagadguru, this intermediary divided the unmanageable village into several Vrittis or fragments and then distributed among many Brahmanas. So the whole process indicated the subinfeudation within the Jagir. In this system there were various Brahmana intermediaries between the jagaduru as overlord and the primary producers. The average land holding of a Brahman Vrittidar in the 14th century, according to an inscription belonging to the reign of Harihara, was yielding a net rent of five gadyanas. 96 Brahmana Vrittidars and 4 temples were holding Vrittis on this basis as evident from this inscription. From this it may be assumed that a Brahmana landed intermediary in Shringeri Jagir with approximately 4 dependents could live on an annual income of 5 gadyanas.

The emergence of Shringeri Jagir in the area had many socio-economic implications. It intensified the Aryanization process of the area which had begun on a small scale in the 8th century A.D. with the advent of Shankaracharya. Now in the 14th century, as a result of providing the material basis in the form of Jagir, a large number of Brahmana settlements and temples came into existence. The jagadguru, the Brahmanas and the devasthanams of the Murusavira sime samsthana became the instruments of this intensified Aryanization movement in the area. They also promoted the secular sovereignty of different political powers in the region and the secular sovereigns in their turn used the Matha as an expression of their over lordship though the medium of large scale donation of manya lands. The Jagir symbolized alliance between the Kshatra and Brahma, Danda and Dharma, temporal and spiritual powers. The Samsthana in one sense represented orthodoxy,

conservatism, hierarchy and inequality in the contemporary society though in another sense it helped to conserve the high intellectual traditions of Hinduism as interpreted by Shankara. Predominantly wet cultivation in the area probably contributed much to the development of Vedic Brahmanic-ritual based social formations in the region.

The emergence of Brahmana landed intermediaries probably helped to spread the knowledge of agriculture. Because, these Brahmana Vrittidars were not mere religious recluses, but also land managers. They were the custodians of Vrikshayurveda or science of agriculture in medieval Karnataka. For instance the author of Lokopakaram, was a Brahmana by name Chavundaraya II who lived in the 17th century during the Kalyani Chalukya period and who in this work devoted one whole chapter to Vrikshayurveda. This shows that they were well-versed in this knowledge also. Many Sanskrit works in the past on this subject were composed by them. Hence it is reasonable to conclude their influence in respect of Shringeri Jagir also.

The foundation of Vijayanagara Empire was a new era in South Indian history. It was the last great Hindu Empire in India. Almost all historians have documented the fact that one of the primary ideals of Vijayanagara state was to protect, conserve and promote Hindu Dharma and culture. There is no doubt that there appears to have been a historical necessity in establishing a stable state in the 14th century. But very few historians have taken pain to analyse in depth what was the nature of this Hindu Dharma that the state of Vijayanagara wanted to promote, conserve and protect and what were the ideological considerations and repercussions.

There was certainly an intense Brahmanization process in the Empire which was in tune with the above described ideal. It does not

mean the Brahmanization process began only during the Vijayanagar period. But the point is the process was very intensive in this period as revealed in land grants. This had some repercussion on the Vijayanagara society.

The state during the Vijayanagara periods was deliberate agent in the extension of Brahmanization process. The establishment of new agraharas, restoring the ruined ones land grants to individual Brahmana donees, assignment of huge revenues and lands to Mathas and Devasthanams or temples were part of this Brahmanization process. This socio-cultural process heavily inclined towards orthodoxy. Even the titles of early Vijayanagara rulers like Vaidika marga pravartaka, Vaidikamarga Samsthapanacharya and Hinduraya-surathrane point to this inclination.

Almost all historians who have worked on this period speak of the oppressive conditions of the peasantry. But few of them have tried to link up peasants with the state and Brahmanization process in order to understand why this class remained dumb spectators of oppression if any. There is no doubt the peasants by their hard labour produced the material basis for the institutions like Agrahara, Mathas and Devasthanams which were instrumental in enlarging this socio-cultural process.

Thus there is a need to establish a link between the state, Brahmanization process and peasants. The peasants were thoroughly brain washed by this process and gauda-prajegalu or headmen of peasant class became the supporters of this process in society.

As a result of this process the peasants were ideologically controlled by the non-producing classes and institutions of the society.

The Brahmanization process helped to strengthen the concepts of ritualism, inequality, orthodoxy, high and low, superior and inferior, the spread of karma theory. All these had adverse effects on the peasants. The alleged magical power possessed by the Brahmanas and their astrological knowledge made them strong conservative forces in rural areas of the empire where the Agraharas in particular came into being. These institutions and individuals sided with the royalty and royalty upheld their ideology. Royalty benefited from this process because to that extent the administrative cost was minimized and the institutions which helped this process of Brahmanization acted as bulwarks against possible organized resistance of the peasantry of South India.

No doubt the mass-reformistic-socio-religious movements of the Dasas like Kanakadasa and Purandaradasa during this period advocated an ideology which was mainly anti-thesis to the well established ideas of the Brahminization process. But in terms of its impact, its attacks hardly changed the well-ingrained Vedic-Brahmanic concepts in the peasantry.

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2.4 Umbali, Kodage and Manya Grants

Umbali, Kodage and Manya Grants in lands come under the classification of service grants. Service tenures arose for different reasons during this period. First, the prevailing custom of making gifts and paying wages for various public services by assignments of land or land revenue, instead of making payment in money as at present, was the main factor behind the origin of these grants Secondly, the abundance of land and relative scarcity of money was another factor which was responsible for emergence of Umbali, Kodage and Many grants. Thirdly, less mobility on the part of the people prompted the state and its agents to make payments for services in the form of land grants. Because, land holdings brought a fixed income to the persons who held them.

Umbali, Kodage and Manya Grants were created for different purposes: (a) the land grants which were given in return for military service, (b) lands granted for having rendered service in the cause of improving and extending agriculture, (c) lands donated for the services rendered in the past and other miscellaneous services and (d) lands assigned to members of the village community, namely twelve aiyangars or hereditary servants of the village.

Umbali and Kodage are synonymous, on the other hand Manya refers to the extent of concession given to the donees under service tenures, like Sarvamanya, free from all kinds of taxes or ardha-manya or half concession from payment of taxes on the donated lands or village. In certain cases Manya simple means lands granted on the condition of quit-rent.

Umbali generally means revenue-free grant of a village or a plot of land.[1] It also means a land grant to individual for his subsistence.[2]

Umbalige is another variation of Umbali and it is defined as "land granted by the government revenue free as a reward for, or in consideration of public services".[3] Umbali-grama refers to a village granted by the government revenue-free in reward for or a condition of performing public service.[4] Now we shall discuss Umbali tenure.

The feudal chiefstains of the Vijayanagara empire in Karnataka created Umbali tenure in their respective jurisdiction. On many occasions they obtained the permission. They mentioned the name of the reigning monarch in Umbali grants as a mark of their allegiance to the overlord from whom they held villages and territory in lieu of some specific obligations. We may quote here a few Kannada inscriptions in support of the above statement:

(1) An inscription from Kollegala dated 1381 belonging to the reign of Harihara II records the gift of land as an Umbali by the local officials.[5]

(2) An inscription from Chamarajanagar dated 15th century records the donation of five villages (named) as Umbali to an individual.[6]

(3) The fact that feudal chiefs of the Empire donated revenues from villages to temples as Umbali in order to carry on some specific rituals is recorded in an inscription from Gundlupet dated 1482 A.D. According to this inscription Mahamandale-shwara Vira Nanjaraja-Wodeya, chief of Ummattur donated the annual revenue of the village Chikkanahalli in Terakanambinad as Umbali to God Angadiya Virabhadra. The income from this village was utilized for food offerings to the God on every Tuesday. The grant specifies how the Umbali should be utilized: "At the rate of 5 hanas to be spent on every Tuesday, for 54 such days in the year, the cost would be 270

hanas or 27 hons which was the annual revenue of the Umbali village".[7]

(4) An inscription from Yelandur dated 1531 A.D. refers to a grant of village (named) as Umbali to an individual (named) by an Amaranayaka.[8]

(5) An inscription from Gundlupet dated 1540 A.D. records the grant of a village as an Umbali.[9]

(6) Another inscription from Nanjangud dated 1543 A.D. refers to a grant of a village as Umbali by an Amaranayaka.[10]

(7) In another inscription from Chamarajanagar dated 1544 A.D. we notice the grant of 3 villages (named) as Umbali to Chikkapparasa-gauda, of Hadinad. The Umbali was given by the chiefstain dalavayi Tippanna Nayaka on the Nirupa or order of Mahamandaleshwara Ramaraja Timmalayadeva.[11]

(8) It is recorded in an inscription from Gundlupet dated 1546 A.D. that village Horeyala was given as Umbali to Chikamalya by Dalavayi Krishnappa Nayaka, who was Amaranayaka of Ummattur which he had received as a fief from the Vijayanagara monarch Achyutaraya.[12]

(9) An interesting information is given in the inscription from Gundlupet dated 1610. Here a father is said to have granted as Umbali, a village by name Kabbali to his son, on the Nirupa or order of Vijayanagara king Tirumala. It was a perpetual hereditary and Sarvamanya grant: "Achandrarkasthayi-Yagi Putra-pautra-parampare-yagi-yi-gramavanu-kodage-yagi-sarvamanya-vagi Anubavisi-kondu-baruviri".[13]

(10) An inscription from Srirangapattana dated 1565 A.D. records the grant of a village and 3 hamlets (named) as Umbali to God Thiruvengalanatha by Nanjaya Thimmappa of Kandachara (military department). Thimmappa was an Amaranayaka. The

income from customs, house tax, Kuridere (tax on sheep) etc., due to royal treasury, given to the God.[14]

Thus during the Vijayanagara period Umbali tenure in land was created for different purposes. But the basic purpose was to remunerate a specific service rendered to the government at all levels. The above inscriptions show how with the permission of the superior authority this tenure was created by the Amaranayakas and officials. What is interesting is that sometimes Umbali lands were given to temples in return for specific service rendered in the temple in the name of the donors.

In addition to Amaranayaka tenure which implied military service, we had other types of land grants which also owe their origin to military service. Thus it was very common to grant lands to a person who had given up life serving his community or government. The lands were granted to such a man's wife and children for their maintenance. These grants were almost like military pensions. This kind of land tenure was called Rakta-Kodage or blood-grants. The lands under this tenure were free from all taxes or Sarvamanya.[15] In some cases we find the whole village was granted as Rakta-Kodage. Thus an inscription from Gundlupet refers to the grant of village Arepura as Rakta-Kodage.[16]

Viragals or hero-stones were also often set up to commemorate the heroism of the man who died in battle or serving the community. Sometimes lands were granted to viragals.[17] Another land-grant known as "Billamanya" or the Manya for the bow also implies military service.[18] Fort was a very important part of the warfare in those times. For persons who took care of forts and those who built them also received land grants on quit-rent or Manya basis. Such grants were known as Kote-Kodage.

Umbali, Kodage or Manya lands were granted to those persons who rendered service in the extension and improvement of agriculture. This tenure took two forms: (a) the lands held by persons who maintained irrigation works, like tanks and canals and also by those who built new tanks or repaired old ones, (b) lands held by persons who built new villages or by persons who restored the ruined villages to their former prosperity by making many improvements.

An inscription furnished information regarding the workers who helped to built a tank. Those who did the work were: "Gante Madanna Basavanna made pillars: Komaraiya the ornamental work; the stone Vadda Chama-Boyi built stones of the embarkment: the earth vaddas Side-boyi and Dase-boyi".[20] Elephants were employed to drag huge boulders to the construction site.

At all times the labour needed for the repairs and constructions of tanks and channels had presented special difficulties. The rulers resorted to forced labour and in addition to this they allotted revenue-free (Manya) lands to persons who in turn were held responsible for proper maintenance of irrigation works. This old institution of giving rent-free lands to the persons who maintain irrigation works and construct new tanks remained for a long time in Karnataka. Such grants of lands under the tanks were variously called as Kattu Kodage, Kere-Kattu Kodage and Kere-Kodage. Innumerable inscriptions in Karnataka mention these grants.[21] To one Mangarasa the temple priests of the Goddess Gauri of Uttanur Madavala, the mortgagees and citizens, gave a sasana for rent-free rice land at Kattu-kodage for the tank as follows: - "whereas you have built the tank in Vaniyarahalli, in Hode-nad, and made the Hiri-Mangasamudra of the rice lands below and within that tank we grant to you two (parts) in ten as a Kattu-Godagi; and of the two (parts) in ten, we grant one part free of all taxes, to be enjoyed as long as

sun and moon exist, to your children's children. Thus Kattu-Kodage grants were not only hereditary in character but also it produced incentive in the grantees to look after irrigational works on which many had depended for their livelihood. This simple but ingenious method of protecting irrigation works bear witness to one of the most useful institutions of the agrarian system.

Kattu-Kodage grants were given not only when the tanks were made but also when the existing tanks due to the natural calamities breached, the persons who undertook repair received such grants. The Bhimapura Sunnapadi tank embankment being breached, the Shanubhoga (Village accountant) Shivayya had it built up, for which this is the shasana of a Kattu-Kodage-manya rice land.[22] Kattu-Kodage grants were also known by the name dasavanda grants.[23] This inscription records that in the year 1636 A.D. the Maha-nayakacharya Gummuni-Nayini Narasimha Nayini's son Kadirappa-Nayani granted to mittlmari Makala Bomma a dasavanda as follows: - "In Mittemari-sthala the Linganu-vadu being breached and you having repaired and enlarged it, from the wet land under it one-fourth part is granted to you as dasavanda, to be enjoyed by you and your posterity". This system continued in the eighteenth century. An inscription dated 1730,[24] records a grant of dasavanda grant as follows: - Mir Laliya caused to be written and given to the people of Tarulemmadahalli a sanad as follows:- "whereas you have expended money from your own hands and built a pond (Katte) at Kavurahalli belonging to Hanubande-hali, a hokum-nana has been issued to the local authorities to grant to a dasavanda of one-fourth of the cultivable rice land under the tank, to be enjoyed to posterity". Hence ¼ under the tank was generally granted for the maintenance of tank and this became an established practice everywhere. The people as a whole often came forward and provided a

fund to keep the tanks in good condition. This common enterprise is another important feature of the agrarian system of Karnataka.

The upkeep of tanks and channels generally includes the removal of silt, besides safeguarding the bunds against any breach. The evil of pond-system of irrigation is that the ponds slowly but gradually have their storage capacity lessened by the deposit of silt. Hence in those days either the land-holders, or the village assembly as a whole, who used the water of tanks, made contributions in money for land or in labour to remove the silt. Thus lands were given to those persons who cleared out tanks every year.[25] For this purpose buffaloes and oxen were used to cart away the silt. Thus Mummadi Kempegowda of Yelahanka is said to have granted four he-buffaloes to remove silt from a certain tank.[26] Sometimes lands were granted to keep carts for the purpose.[27] Payments to provide for the livelihood of the buffalo man of the tank-cart, for oil, for wheel grease, crow-bar, pick-axe, oil and for other necessities were made in the shape of a share of the duties on articles.[28]

Rulers for the proper distribution of water also existed. Where the repair and maintenance of irrigation works was done in partnership, the distribution of water was regulated in proportion to expenses met by either party. An inscription for Davanagere dated 1410 A.D. tells us that the annual repairs and other expenses in connection with the wells and tanks formed under the channel were borne in the proportion of 2/3 by the God and 1/3 by the Brahmanas, and hence the water of the channel was also to be distributed in those proportions.[29]

Quarrels over the rights of irrigation between villages were decided by arbitrations and understanding. The decision was carefully recorded. Thus we see that when quarrel arose between two villages about right over tank, one village would purchase the right by paying money. The

sum of money thus paid might be a lumpsum as in the case of or an annual contribution.[30]

Construction of tanks of different sizes naturally required co-operative enterprise on the part of the people of villages. Epigraphical references to irrigational facilities provided for the people are very many, and in all we find the government working in close harmony with the local people for their prosperity. The idea of forming reservoirs must have presented itself to the rulers of the country or to the occupiers of the soil at a very early stage. In Karnataka tanks of great antiquity bear witness to the readiness of former rulers to encourage the construction of works of this kind.[31] Private beneficiary came in largely to supplement the resources of the state. In those times irrigation system was not a complicated one. It comprised generally, as we have seen of tanks, wells and channels, which were built mostly by individual benefactions and maintained by communal enterprise. Even temples used to undertake the repair and maintenance of tanks in villages through land grants.[32] If a single well-to-do person of a village undertook the responsibility of building a new tank, or repair an old one, the people of that village as a whole used to grant lands to him. An inscription from Tumkur District, Kunigal taluk, dated 1429 A.D. refers to the common fund of the village out of which a tank was built.[34] Sometimes contracts were given to individuals to construct tanks or big channels, and before starting the work, proper ceremonies had to be performed.[35] Even women undertook the construction of tanks and wells. There are records which show how women granted Kattu-Kodage free of imposts to those who built tanks and wells.[36] The rulers not only undertook the construction of irrigation works, but also duly honoured rich persons who did the same. Thus king Harihara of Vijayanagara seems to have honoured one Bacheyappa with a golden palanquin, golden chamaras, and a golden umbrella; for his meritorious works namely the construction of several tanks and

channels (named) and laying out gardens.[37] Malavalli 22 repeats the same but adds that the same person made sluices to the tanks he had constructed.

Thus the irrigation works constructed by private or communal enterprise were carefully managed and provision was made for their up-keep and improvement. The communal enterprise was duly supported by the rulers of the time. Hence, both the rulers and their subjects from different walks of life like rich persons, officials, women, and religious institutions like temples and mutts gave proper attention to the construction and repair of irrigation works. It was considered as an act of Dharma.

The land grants given to those who rendered service in extending agricultural lands was variously known as surugumanya, puri or pura manya.[38] Brahmanas often received lands as Stotriya agrahara for having founded it by reclaiming forests, and constructing tanks.[39] But in this case only lands under the tank were made free from all taxes. Gaudike or the office of gauda was sometimes conferred on the person who had built many villages.[40] This office was also given to the person who restored the ruined village to their former prosperity. For example an inscription records that Kittanakere belonged to Brahmanas was in ruins and one Kala-gauda repaired it. Hence Brahmanas with the consent of Dannayaka who was ruling at that time gave a shasana to the effect that he should get a village and a hamlet attached to it as rent-free estate with all rights.[41] For reclamation of lands, the gifts in the form of lands were given.[42]

Thus these lands grants were almost serving as economic incentives for the promotion of agriculture which was the mainstay of the

people. They helped both to bring fresh lands under the plough and to improve agriculture by turning dry lands into wet lands.

Village community is one of the important agrarian institutions in Karnataka that survived changes of empires, ravages of time and influence of alien dominion until the dawn of the modern period. The study of the village community is closely linked up with land tenures because the persons who administered the affairs of the village held land holdings for their services. Such persons were known as Ayagars and they held manya lands in the village.

Inscriptions of the period under study refer to the institution of Ayagars in village.[43] An epigraph from Sira mentions the name of twelve village Ayagaras thus: -

1.	Badagi	=	Haradi Hosmallayya
2.	Kelasi	=	Mudali Giriyanna
3.	Asagara	=	(or Agasa) = Kempayiraiya
4.	Talavara	=	Budali Nagayya
5.	Begara	=	Lakkayya Badadasa
6.	Shanubhoga	=	Brahmayya
7.	Joyisa	=	Hariyannabhatta
8.	Kammara	=	Muddanna Thimmayya
9.	Akasali	=	Thirumala Rangappanayaka
10.	Kumbara	=	Thirupathayya (?)
11.	Kondikara	=	Honnayya
12.	Samani	=	Thimmallayya[44]

Ramarayanana Bakair, a Kannada work written about the period of Vijayanagara, gives slightly a different list, but the number remains the same, the difference is only in names of officials; 1) gauda, (2) Badagi, (3) Nayidrava, (4) Joyisa, (5) Kammara, (6) Talavara, (7)

Kulakarni, (8) Akkasale, (9) Madiga, (10) Matapathi, (11) Agasa, (12) Barikaru.[45] However in English the Ayagars' names may be translated as: (1) Headman, (2) Accountant, (3) Carpenter, (4) Washerman, (5) Purohit or Priest, (6) Barber, (7) Shoe-maker, (8) Gold-smith, (9) Watchman, (10) Waterman, (11) Blacksmith, (12) Potterer. In Karnataka Ayagars were also known by the name of Narabaluti or twelve village functionaries. Thus for instance an inscription from Bellary district mentions Barabaluti.[46]

The Ayagara fall into three groups: (1) Officials: Headman, Accountant, (2) Artisans: Blacksmith, Carpenter, Potterer, Shoe-maker, Goldsmith, (3) Others: Waterman, Watchman, Barber and Purohit. While all no doubt served the village, the essential difference in the nature of the services performed by them should not be forgotten.

The office of the headman in our sources is known as gaudike.[47] Headman was obliged to have the village lands cultivated for the sum of money or grain fixed by the government as tax. He had to collect the taxes according to the agreement and had to pay to the government in time. Office of headman was often conferred on a person who restored ruined villages and thereby extended the cultivation. For such services they were duly honoured with horse, umbrella and rent-free lands.[48] The lands allotted for the office of the headman were variously known as gauda-kodage, gauda-manya and gaudaumbali.[49] The village headman was normally a peasant himself, but sometimes, since the office of gauda could be purchased,[50] an outsider, even a townsman could become headman of a village. He was never properly speaking a government servant. But the revenue authorities could at times depose a headman for failing in his obligations and they also exercised the power of nominating headman for villages that were newly settled.[51] His office was hereditary in character.[52]

Shanubhoga or Karanika[53] as he was also known kept the village accounts. He also kept the record of all transactions concerning lands in his count books called kadata[54] and for which he received kadatadakanike,[55] from the ryots of the village. Government informed him of the lands granted in the village. He copied the original order given by kings to the donee in his account books and handed over the original to the donee.[56] For his services he received Manya lands. Lands granted for his office was known as gramada-senabovanakodage,[57] Shanabhogara-umbali[58] and Karanika-manya.[59]

The carpenter and the blacksmith attended to all artisans work in the village. They manufactured ploughs and other agricultural implements. They also helped in the construction of the houses of the ryots. They received ayam or shares in grain from peasants. They also had Manya lands.[60] The cobbler furnished the ryots of the village with ropes, buckets and sandals. Barber shaved the ryots and the washerman washed their clothes. The purohit had to explain to the ryots the time when the sowing of the seed would yield abundant corn; he had also to tell them the work which they were expected to do in every season. He officiated at the marriages and other religious ceremonies that were performed in the houses of the farmers. He read daily the calendar before the rich men of the village. He also received Manya lands and ayam in kind.[61] All the Ayagars, except the purohit or the priest had to pay jodi or quit assessment on their Manya lands.[62] Talavara or watchman had to protect the village from dangers of all kinds and assist the work of administration as occasion arose. If any theft was committed during the sojourn of aliens in the village, watchman was held responsible.[63] Potter supplied the pots necessary for the use of all the ryots. The goldsmith measured the cultivator's half-share of the produce. He also tested the soundness of the coins collected as taxes from the farmers. The waterman closed the sluices of the irrigation tanks by diving into the

water. He lived in huts on the tank-bund, during the rainy season to prevent it from breaching and regulated the supply of water according to the requirements of the fields. He had also to account for the deficiency of the water in the tank; and if he failed to give satisfactory explanation, he was removed from his office. All these Ayagars received shares in grains from farmers.[64]

Thus these twelve ayagars were attached to the village. Their offices were hereditary. They were called ayagars in Karnataka. But in the Mughal accounts they were referred to as Barabalavati,[65] or Barabaluti.

Self-sufficiency of the village was the underlying factor of agrarian life in medieval period. The twelve Ayagaras contributed to the growth of this concept of self-sufficiency in the village. The village hardly received anything in return from the towns. The village produced all its own needs from within. The affairs connected with agricultural production were conducted by the cooperation of a body of these twelve village functionaries. Each one of them rendered service to the economic well-being of the village. For their services, they received a share in the agricultural produce of the village. Their share was mainly dependent upon the function and status of each Ayagar. The system worked well until the modern times. The British administrators in the early 19th century were struck by the vitality and usefulness of the Ayagar system.[66] The office of these Ayagars was hereditary. Hence this hereditary character infused in each Ayagar a devotion and love towards his own village. These feelings naturally led to the idea of oneness in the village. It infused unity, self sacrifice and cooperation among village folks.

The local government unit called nadu in the Vijayanagara period appreciated work done for public purposes and also made Kodage grants for similar purpose. The people of Pulliyurnadu together with Dati Singeya Dandanayaka, Nambi Sanasetti, Pulimara gauda, Anaiyar, the accountant of the nadu and (others named), granted to Nambi Devi Shetty, the pool situated between Attivahalli and Sulivali adjoining Settipuram, which after clearing out the silt, he had made into a tank, as a Kudangai.[67]

In A.D. 1560, farmers and Senubova of Taluku and the farmers and Senabovas of the fourteen places in the Doderi-Sime, granted for a tank a Manya to the Mahanayakacharya Yellappa Nayaka.

In A.D. 1342, all the subjects of Elahankanadand the Mahasamanthadipati Chikka Bayiraya Nayaka's son Honnamaraya Nayaka, granted specified land at Jakkur to the Nad-Senabova Allala as Sarvamanya Kodage.[68]

The Vijayanagara kings and their officers generally appointed nadagauda to his office. The position has hereditary.[69] Nad-gauda received Kodagemanya lands from the government.

An inscription from Maddagiri, of 1419 A.D. tells us about "the gaudas Kodagemanya granted to Singe Gowda's son Rama Gauda, Maddagirihalli, and under Vodina channel space for 2000 areca trees, with nad-gaudike in each village."[70]

In 1543 A.D. Bayirappa Nayakayya's agents Kampanna Nayaka and Nandyapa nayaka granted to Sitakal Gangappa Nayaka to whom for Nad-gaudike a village and inscribed on stone as follows:

"Having given the nad-gaudike of the Kolala Sime which was favoured as their magani by Achyuta Maharaya, we grant you freedom form tax for dry and wet-fields in all the villages of this Sime, and as a dandige-umbali we grant you Vommachihalli belonging to the Kolada-nad-sime, together with all rights". (specified as a permanent endorsement).[71] It is clear from this inscription that the king's officers also appointed the nad-gauda and he received Umbali lands for his office.

Umbali and Kodage grants were made to Brahmanas who rendered specific services to the community which were often sectional in character. The services of the Brahmana teachers in expounding in grammar, Mimamsa, Vedanta, Rigveda etc., were obviously had a sectional character since only a particular section of the village community was benefited by such services, whereas the service of barbers and others was meant for all the members of the village. Also the example of land grant where the village people as a whole donating it for reciting puranas,[72] and for the establishment of a village fair.[73] The conditions which were attached to these land tenures held by village servants are note-worthy. An inscription from Tumkur district records some lands and a house for the officer of Jyotisa or astrologer, in a village. They had to be enjoyed by living in the town, and doing duty. They were not to be mortgaged. If they were sold or given away as grants these were to be given only to a fit brahmana who could discharge the services.[74]

Service tenures were also created for those persons who had rendered various services in the past. Such persons received Umbali lands from the rulers. They were not required to do no more services. As instances of this class of people mention may be made of scholars, poets,[75] musicians,[76] and doctors[77] to whom the rulers of the period

made frequent grants of land. As a mark of honour, high officials of the state often received land grants to maintain palanquin and umbrellas. Lands granted for the former purpose were known as Dandige-umbali or Pallakki-umbali to which we get innumerable references in inscriptions of our period. Land granted for the purpose of maintaining umbrella were known Sattige-Umbali.[78]

In addition to these we get some land grants given for miscellaneous purposes, such as Garadi-umbali[79] for the maintenance of Gymnasium, rent-free lands to the salt-makers, with rules to the removal of saline earth,[80] land-grants for having engraved shasanas or inscriptions, lands to the tumbler or Dombara[81] and lands allotted to the office of setti or the head of the merchant guild.[82] An inscription of 1430 A.D. from Nagamangala village in Bowringpet (Bangarupete) records that the Salumule of the 56 provinces with all the cultivators and the Panchalas established a fair or Santhe, and in connection with it, as a Manya for the Pattanaswami of the fair, Chiyi Bassi Setti granted land (specified).[83] Lands were also given for Pattanaswamitana or for the office Pattanaswami of a trading center. The head of the merchant guilds with the titles like Ubhayananadesi,[84] the Pattanasvami[85] Mahavaddavyava-hari[86] and Vaddavyavahari[87] held Umbali or Kodage tenures in land in return for their services.

The principal source of Pattanaswami's income was his Manya land. In 1362 A.D. Periya Nayaka, the Pattanaswami of the fair at Kayivara was granted land, free of all imposts.[88] In 1412 A.D. Dandi-Setti and Tirumala setti were granted land specified as a Manya, with freedom form tolls.[89] In1426 A.D. Budapa Setti was given the office of Pattanaswami together with a Manya.[90] In 1430 A.D. Chiyi Bassi Setti of maragal, was granted Manya land.[91] In 1554 A.D. Vithanna Nayaka granted Manya lands to the Pattanaswami (name not given).[92]

What emerges from the above is that in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period the custom of making land grants in lieu of various services rendered by individuals to the society was widely prevalent. Such grants were known as Umbali and Kodage. They were given on Sarvamanya or simply Manya basis. The persons who held Umbali and Kodage tenures came from different walks of life. Among them mention may be made of the family members of soldiers who died in the battlefield or fighting anti-social elements, persons who had rendered some specific service to the state, the twelve village servants, Pattanasvamis of trading centers, nada-gaudas or head of nadus and peasant leaders who contributed in concrete way to the extension of agriculture and building of or maintenance of irrigational works. The Vijayanagara monarchs, Amaranayakas, officials and local government agencies created Umbali and Kodage tenures in kind. It appears that to the extent to which these revenue free, hereditary land tenures were created, to that extent the state and its agencies lost revenue from land tax other dues. That is why Tipu Sultan of Mysore in the second half of the 18th century resumed many kinds of these Umbali and Kodage tenures. In this connection what an eminent British administrator of the 19th century, namely Thomas Munro has said is interesting: "It does not appear that the Hindu princes were much more scrupulous than Tipu in resuming Umbalisand Inams ..... for, as almost every prince and given away land as Umbali and none had resumed, the whole country would in short time have been converted into Inams".[93]

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CHAPTER - III
WOMEN AS DONORS

3.0 Introduction

Women with material wealth and social position often appear as generous donors in the Inscriptions of the period under study. As the temple stood as the cynosure of socio economic life, most of these donations either in the form of land of cash, went normally to the temple. The income derived from these donations was meant specifically towards the performance or religious services as well as to maintain the temple servants. In return for their grant the donors were conferred with 'temple honour' such as the offering of the share in the prasadam, etc. This may be illustrated from the inscriptions of this period in Tirumalai Tirupati temples. The Tirumalai-Tirupati temples, the premier temple of the Vijayanagara period received the largest of the royal benefactions and public donations.

Gifts to temple were in the form of lands, villages, income from villages, proceeds from the remission of taxes, ornaments, cloths, articles, etc. These were made over to the deities in the temples by the kings, officials, chiefs, Mahamandaleshwara queens, common women or ordinary women with different religious motives. The benefactions made and endowments created were generally entrusted to the trustees of the temples (sthanikas) for arranging regular worship of the deity, for burning perpetual lamp, for conducting temple festivals and for remunerating temple servants for their services in the temple. They made grants with religious motives. Women made liberal grants to temples to commemorate their visits to temples, to secure a strong empire, to acquire religious merit, to celebrate their birthday, and for realizing the four objects of human desire namely, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. Women played multifarious roles, some of them excelled also as

donors, trustees, and protectors of temples and other religious institutions, Contemporary epigraphs and literary works provide ample illustrations to this effect.

3.1 Tirumaladevi Amman

It seems that the family of the chieftain of Sriranga-patanam entered into matrimonial alliance with the imperial family as Tirumaladevi, the chief queen of Krishndevaraya.[1] Tirumaladevi was the daughter of Kumara-Vira-Syamaraya, chief of Srirangapatnam (that is he was the governor of Srirangapatnam) who took part in the battle of Raichur.[2]

Tirumaladevi was the first and foremost queen, the queen consort, along with whom Krishnadevaraya ascended the Vijayanagara throne in 1509 A.D. and she lived on apparently for the entire period of his reign and accompanied him constantly. Two queens of Krishnadevaraya namely, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these two, Tirumaladevi was his senior queen, having been wedded prior to his accession to the throne, as it is known from No. 87 of 1912 from Cholasamudram which states that the emperor Krishnadevaraya ascended the Karnataka throne, with his queen Tirumalambika.[3]

The two queens are also noted in the Telugu Kavyas of the time, both of them are accorded the honour of wedded queens (devarulu) and these queens are represented in the two statues placed beside Krishnadevaraya in a group in temple of Srivenkatesha at Tirumala and as Tirumalamba is on the right side of the king, it has been supposed that she was the chief queen, who played a dominant role during this period, she used to accompany the king during campaigns. She also

accepted Achyutaraya as the successor of Krishnadevaraya. She was very much interested in poetry. She had her own treasury, her own female servants and she had complete independence, she was a great devotee and a great donor. As she was Krishnadevaraya's favourite she enjoyed all the power and privileges in the court. Krishnadevaraya, in the memory of her, gave liberal grants to temples and cities which were named after Tirumaladevi. The following inscriptions records Tirumaladevi senior queen of Krishnadevaraya as a great donor to the temple.

The marriage of Tirumaladevi, daughter of the chief of Srirangapatana, took place in 1509 A.D. Tirumaladevi pattana now it is called as Hospet.

In 1513 A.D., Tirumaladevi-amman presented a gold cup to Sri Venkatesha for offering milk during night worship.

In 1513 A.D. a gold vessel weighing 374 was given as special offering and service and a gold plate weighing 102 for flowers was offered to God Tiruvengalanatha by Tirumaladevi.[5]

In 1514 A.D., Tirumaladevi, Senior queen of Krishnadevaraya, presented a costly Chakrapadakam to Sri Venkatesha and granted PirattiKulattur village for five Tirupponakam offerings to be made daily.[6]

In 1515 A.D., the gift of a Chakrapadakam and the village of Piratti-Kulaltur in the Tondamandalam was given to Tiruvenkata by queen Tirumaladevi. The pendant contained 132 diamonds, 85 rubies, 83 emeralds and 66 pearls, altogether weighing 255 ½ units.[7]

In 1515 A.D., a gold cup weighting 374 units for offering milk, and a gold plate weighing 10 units, for keeping perfumes to Tiruvengalanatha was given by queen Tirumaladevi.[8]

Tirumaladevi visited the temple of Sri Venkatesha at Tirumalai with the king and she made Mahadanas to the temple of Sri Venkatesha at Tirumalai in 1515 A.D.

In Holenarasipur Taluk, inscription No. 8, is a copper inscription, it registers a grant made by Krishnadevaraya in 1515 A.D. on July 25th, Village Kittave, in Hasana some of the Hoysala kingdom renamed as Tirumalapura after his queen Triumalamba by Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara.[9]

An inscription of 1515 A.D., records Krishnadevaraya after capturing the forts, visited Amaresvara at Dharanikota and performed the Tulapurusha ceremony in the temple of the God. On the banks of the river krishnaveni he had the Ratnadhenu and Sapta-sagar Mahadanas performed by his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi respectively.[10]

In 1517 A.D., at Simhadri-Potnuru he performed Mahadanas by his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi, and visited with his queens, God Varadaraju at Vishnu Kanchi and paid one thousand Varahas as Kanike.[11]

An epigraph refers in 1518 A.D., Tirumaladevi granted the land called Kumbhararakunte in Vijayanagarapattana, for the service of God Kariya Tiruvengalantha at Anjanagiri of Chikkarayakere in Vijayanagarapattana. The gift was made in the presence of God Vithalesvara on the bank of Tungabhadra for the merit of Tirumalaraya.[12]

In 1521 A.D., Krishnadevaraya presented a Pitambaram set with the nine kinds of gems, a cup and a Navaratnapadkam through is queen Tirumaladevi to Tiruvengalanatha at Tirumalai.

Thus, the above inscriptions throw light on Tirumalamba, Sr. queen of Krishnadevaraya as a great donor to the temples and she also made grant for the merit of her son Tirumalaraya. She made Rathnadhenu, Saptasagara Mahadanas and she donated gold ornaments, rubies, diamonds and precious stones, gold and silver cups and plates and also granted villages to the temples. So, we can say that Tirumaladevi, Sr. queen of Krishnadevaraya occupied a respectable position in this period.

3.2 Chinnadevi Amman

At present we are not in a position to determine accurately how many women Krishnadevaraya actually married. Nuniz, tells us, that he married four women and 'Chinnadevi' was the most beloved of these[13] according to Paes, Krishnadevaraya had twelve lawful wives, of whom four were principal ones namely Chinnadevi, Tirumaladevi, Jaganmohini and Annapurnadevi. Chinnadevi was a devadasi in the temple of Virupaksha at Hampi. Chinnadevi was famous for her dance and beauty, for which Krishnadevaraya fell for her. Two queens of Krishnadevaraya namely, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. Krishnadevaraya married Chinnadevi after he ascended the throne and consequently she must have been only the junior queen, who was unsuccessful in acquiring the dignity and prestige of the chief consort.[14] The two queens are also noted in the Telugu Kavyas of the time as deverulu. And these queens are also represented in the two statue placed beside Krishnadevaraya in a group in the temple of Sri Venkateshwara at Tirumalai, Chinnadeviyaru on the left,

Krishnamaharaya in the middle and Tirumaladeviyaru on the right with their names incised on their shoulders. But, Krishnadevaraya in his "Amuktamalyada" (Canto I verse 33), while apparently quoting the eulogistic verses from the poet laureate Allasani Peddana's "Manucharitam", which is dedicated to him, slightly modifies the name of his queen, substituting 'Annapurnadevi' for Chinnadevi and giving precedence to Tirumaladevi. Chinnadevi deceased sometime after the religious tour in 1517 A.D., and that her place was subsequently occupied by Annapurnadevi.

Chinnadevi has been considered by some scholars as the daughter of Prataparudra Gajapati and by others as a damsel not regularly espoused to Krishnadevaraya. Where as the court poets recognized her as one of the wedded wives of the king, which gives sufficient evidence about her lawful marriage with Krishnadevaraya, which is further strengthened by the testimony of lithic records of the time found throughout the country as well as by her statue being placed at Tirumalai. It is therefore erroneous to treat her as a favourite damsel of low birth and dubious parentage in the face of this available evidence from native sources and give credence to the statements of foreigners like Nuniz and Paes. It may, however be concluded that she was the favourite queen of Krishnadevaraya, being apparently given precedence in the records in the matter of mentioning her name before the senior queen in registering their charities at some of the religious centres. But however, we can say that Chinnadevi was not the daughter of prataparudra, because Chinnadevi got married to Krishnadevaraya earlier to Gajapati princess. Chinnadevi was his junior queen, married after his accession and enjoyed the royal favour for five or six years, until her demise in 1517 A.D., parentage of Chinnadevi remains unknown.

The Dodda Jataka plates of Nagamangala, dated 1512 A.D. records a gift by the king Krishnadevaraya to a learned Brahmana in the person of Gangadhara of Shivaganga of a village called Hirijattiga, and four hamlets adjoining, renaming the village Chinnadevipura, in honour of Chinnadevi, one of his favourite queens.[15]

According to Nuniz, "This king built a city in honour of this woman, for the love he bore her, and called it Nagalapur and surrounded it is one of the best works that, he has in his kingdom, and he made it a street and very long and very large with houses all of masonry. He further ordered, all chiefs at his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did. It was partly intended for purposes of irrigating lands below it and partly for supplying water to the new city of Nagalapura. The revenue yielded by the lands irrigated by it, in Nuniz's time i.e., within fifteen years or so was 20,000 paGodas. But we cannot accept this because Nagaladevi was Krishnadevaraya's mother and not Chinnadevi.

Chinnadevi used to accompany the king to temples and to war fields Chinnadevi had her own treasury and female servants. This queen enjoyed liberty. She donated money and jewelleries liberally to temples. She was loved by the people of Vijayanagara.

The following inscriptions, records Chinnadevi, Junior queen of Krishnadevaraya as a great donor to the temple.

An inscription of 1513 A.D., refers to a gift of a gold vessel weighing 374 units made by queen Chinnajiammavaru, to God Tiruvengalanatha for special offering and service.[16]

An inscription of 1513 A.D., records a gift of a gold vessel weighing 374 units made to Tiruvengalanathadeva for offering milk after night worship by Chinnajiamma.[17]

An epigraph of 1514 A.D., records that Krishnadevaraya, after defeating Gajapati ruler, visited Tirupati, with his queen Chinnadevi. Chinnadevi presented a padakam and a Kanthamala and gave Mudiyar village in Tonda-Mandalam to serve for the daily offerings instituted by her.

An epigraphy of 1514 A.D. states that Krishnadevaraya and his two queens erected the gopuram and presented one gold plate worth 991 paGodas besides 25 silver lamps, 200 cows and 4 villages to Vithaladeva for worship.[18]

An inscription of 1514 A.D., refers to Chinnamajidevi, junior queen of Krishnadevaraya, presented a costly necklace to Sri Venkatesha and granted Madiyar village for five Tirupponakam offerings to be made daily.[19]

An inscription of 1515 A.D., refers to Chinnadevi visited Amareshvara at Dharanikota with the king and performed the Tulapurusha ceremony in the presence of the God, on the banks of the river. Krishnaveni. He had the Rathnadhenu and saptasagara Mahadanas performed by his queen Chinnadevi.

An epigraph of 1515 A.D., states that Krishnadevaraya along with his queen Chinnadevi made Mahadanas to the Tirumalai. In 1517, Chinnadevi made Mahadanas at Tirupati.

An inscription of 1515 A.D. registers the gift of ornaments and of the village in the Tondaimandalam for offerings to the Sriventatesha by Chinnajidevi-amman, the queen of Krishnadevaraya, when he paid a visit to the Tirumala temple, on the return Journey to the capture of Udayagiri. The ornaments were Kanthamalai with a pendant set with 111 pearls, central ruby. 2 emeralds and 4 diamonds, altogether weighting 200 units.[20]

An inscription of 1517 A.D., refers that at Simhari Portunru he performed Mahadanas by his queen Chinnadevi and Visited with his queen to God Varadaraju at Vishnu Kanchi and paid one thousand varahas as kanike.

Thus, the above inscriptions throw light on Chinnadevi, Junior queen of Krishnadevaraya as a great donor to the temple. She made Rathnadhenu, Saptasagara Maha danas and she donated gold ornaments, rubies, diamonds and precious stones, gold and silver cups and plates and also gave villages to the temples. So, we can say that Chinnadevi queen of Krishnadevaraya was rich enough on her own in order to be in a position to donate lavishly to the temple.

3.3 Varadaji Devi Amman

Varadambika or Varadadevi Amman daughter of Salakaraju was the first known wedded queen of Achyutaraya. To princess Varadambika’s marriage with Achyutaraya, is devoted the Sanskrit work, entitled “Varadambika-Parinayam” composed by Tirumalamba, a poetess of considerable talent.

Inscriptions help us in clarifying the relationship of the queen Varadambika with the member of the Salaka family. (1) A lithic record

dated saka 1463, plava (=21 – 12 – 1541 A.D.) states that Salakaraja Siru Tirumala, the mother of Varadajiamman purchased a plot of ground in the west street in Tirumalai for 120 pon and laid an angina-tiruvidhi (i.e., a row of houses around an open space in the middle) for the merit of Varadaji-amman, the Pattamahadeviyar of Achyutaraya Maharaya.[21]

Varadambika, as the queen, was a close associate of the emperor Achyuta Raya in his religious and other activities. Achyutaraya appears to have gone in the company of his queen Varadamba and son Venkatadri, to worship the deities at Tirupathi, Kalahasti, Kanchi, Tiruvannamalai and Srirangam before launching upon the southern campaign.[22] This campaign ended with great victory. To commemorate his victory of the Southern campaign, king Achyutaraya paid a visit to Tirupati temple accompanied by his queen Varadaji-amman and his son Kumara Venkatadri, as stated in an inscription dated 31st Jan. 1533. A.D.[23]

Epigraph and literary works shed considerable light on those aspects of the life of the queen. A couple of inscriptions from Aulala Perumal temple at conjeevaram dated Jan 20, 1533 A.D., & Aug 17, 1533 A.D. register the Mukta Tulapurushadana ceremony performed by king Achyutaraya-along with his queen Varadambikadevi and his son an assignment of the income of 17 villages to the Arulala perumal temple for providing special offerings and also gifted away 1,000 cows.[24]

An epigraph dated April 5, A.D., states that Varadajidevi-amman granted 6 villages yielding an annual income of 920 rakshaipon for the benefit of the Sri Bhandaram [Tirumalai Temple Treasury] for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesha with 20 Tirupponakam [Van-Pongal-Taligai] daily as her Ubhaiyam known as Varadajidevi amman Avasaram [offering] to be performed after conducting the Achyutaraya's

avasaram and Krishnadevaraya's avasaram at Tirumalai.[25] Among the 6 villages two villages were in the Grandikotta Sirmai, 3 villages were from the Kondavidu Srimai and one from Narayanapuram.[26]

Thus the queen appears to have issued grants of her own and shared the religious duties of her husband, emperor Achyutaraya. It is stated in the contemporary Sanskrit work Vardambikaparinayam that the birth of a son to Achyutaraya and Varadambika was due to a favour of God of Tirupati and hence the child was named Venkatadri after the deity of Tirumalai.[27] This apparently refers to the immense faith, the royal couple entertained in the hearts for the God Vishnu.

There are several inscriptions issued for the spiritual merit of king Achyutaraya, his queen Varadambika and their son Venkatadri by the king's officials in their purely private capacity. One such was issued by a military officer Sriranga Nayaka son of Tuluva Vengalu-Nayakkar of Padvidu, who arranged for offerings through a deposit of 650 narpanam in saka 1458, Durmukhi, corresponding to December 14. 1536 A.D., for the merit of Swami Achyuta raya Maharaya, Varadaji-amman avargal and Chikka Venkatadri Udaiyar.[28]

So far we have noticed instances which reveal the close association and active participation with the ruler as their right companion in various fields. In turn as regards to their wives, the rulers also took initiative in erecting temples, monuments, buildings, cities etc. for example, in the records No. 544 are mentioned seven mantapams, two of which were named after king Achyutarayur-Swami, two after his queen Varadaji-amman.[29] Cities were named after Varadaji-amman as Varadajiavara Pattana. Varadajiavara pattana in Kamalapura, was constructed by Achyutaraya in honour of his queen.[30]

3.4 Ordinary Women as Donors

In relation to economic activities of the state we can see two categories of women namely, the royal women and the ordinary women. There are so many instances to show that in addition to the royal women even ordinary women played an important role as donors to temples. Temples received money, gifts and some received large amounts. Donors of money were often designated as recipients of a share of the food offerings made to the God (Prasadam) as a part of the Bhakthi temple ritual of the age. Ordinary women had freedom to donate money to the temples. The following are some of the inscriptions, which records ordinary or common women as donors.

In 1390 A.D. Padumladevi, daughter of the Mukanna Kadambavana, made a gift of land to the temple of Amritanathadeva at Omanjaru for the worship and offerings of the God and for the maintenance of feeding Choultry.[31]

To quote an example, an inscription records that an Jan 19, Thursday A.D., 1458, in the reign of Pradhana Devaraya Maharaya, the lady reader of the palace named Honnammavva purchased a plot of land and made a gift of it for offerings to God Mallikarjuna and for feeding five jangamas in the temple.[32]

An inscription of 1417 A.D., states that a grant was made by Nacharamma, wife of Timmanna Dannayaka to the fifty two Sri Vaishnavas of Melkote.[33]

It has been recorded that on Jan 10, A.D. 1510, in the name of Bhujabala Narasinga Maharaya ruling from Vijayanagara, Sankamma Modaliti daughter of Bemanna Bhandari, made a gift of 60 varahas and

an yearly grant of fixed quantity of rice for the service of the God Mahadeva.[34]

In 1510 A.D., Nalla-Gangamman, daughter of Ekkadi Timmamman, deposited a cash of 1,500 Panam for the daily offering of Tiruponakam to Srivenkatesha at Tirumala for the merit of Krishnadevaraya.

An inscription in 1513 A.D., registers the gift of golden vessel, pearls and precious stones and also 1000 panam by Virupajayamman, wife of Timmaraya, for offering at the early morning service to Nayanar Tirukalatti Udaiya-Nayanar for the merit of her parents and herself.[35]

An inscription refers to an indistinct, seems to refer to the construction of a well by a lady (name lost) for the merit of Krishnadevaraya in 1513 A.D., Figures of Sankha and Chakra are engraved closeby.[36]

Two maids in the palace of Venkatapatiraya, Krishnaveni and Vengayamman, granted 40 varahas for providing offering on the anniversary day, on the natal day every month of Tirumangai Alvar[37] in 1518 A.D.

In 1518 A.D., Tirumakka shetti, wife of Narana shetti of paduvakeri constructed a Matha, and made endowment of land for its maintenance.[38]

Tirumakka-Ravaliti, though who was child less, was a generous lady. She made good use of the gold through enabling her grandfather Shankar Shetti to build a matha and endow it with some Plots and land

and also made a gift for the service of God Nagareshvara on Sunday, April 11, 1520 A.D.[39] in Basruru in south Canara district.

In 1524 A.D., vengalamman, daughter of Pagera-Amman, contributed 1,500 panam, to be made towards the one Tiruppouakam to daily service to Srivenkatesha in her name.[40]

Sankama-Nayakiti second wife of Sankara Setti, along with her step son Mallappa Setti and her younger sister Devu Adeviti granted some plots of land on Wednesday Oct. 14 1528 A.D., for the purpose of the maintenance of the Mathas built by her husband.[41]

In 1529 A.D., Lakshmamma wife of Subbaraya, erected the dhvajastambha in the temple of Chennakeshava and celebrated the Garudotsava of the God.[42]

In 1531 A.D., in praise of the Jina shasana, Jinasenadeva's disciple Manikya-Lajinathar granted land. Also Danimaiya's wife Payama gave 20 gatti gadyanas for food offerings to the deity and feeding of guests to Mallikirit.[43]

In 1532 A.D. Vallabhamman, the wife of Salakka-Raja, made a gift of land in Valagari Sedangudi, for the offerings and worship to the image of Sri Ranganatha on the occasion of an annual festival of the God in the month of Tai.[44]

One Betel-bearer also donated to the temple. During Achyutaraya's regime Adaippam Rukminiamman, was a betel-bearer. The trustees of Tirumalai temple have under taken to perform certain charities in the name of the donor as described by the Emperor Achyutaraya, on 26th December 1535 A.D.[45]

On 8th January 1536 A.D., Ellamman, daughter of Kottiya Mallayyan, paid 1,600 nar panam for propitiating Sri Venkatesha everyday with one Tirupponakam-taligai.[46]

On 25th December 1538 A.D., Ellamman, daughter of Kovai, made a contribution of 440 nar panam for 30 Tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesha as Dhanurmasa puja offerings.[47]

Krishnamangai, daughter of Govindi, of Odukarai village deposited sum of 110 panam to Sri Raghunadhan on the day of hunting festival celebrated in Tirupati, as her ubhaiyam in 1545 A.D.[48]

In 1545 A.D., Lakshmiamman one of the ladies (in waiting) in the Royal harem, made a gift of 25 rekhaipon for the construction of a mantapam.[49]

Tirumalamman, wife of senpakakamayyar, was residing in Vanamahadevi village. She constructed a mantapam in front of the temple of Sri Govindaraja Tirupati and paid 400 panam for 50 dosaipadi to be made to Govindarajan, on the day of the star Visakham, being her annual birth star in 1545 A.D.[50]

Govindi, daughter of Konda Dasari-Timmayyan, belonging to shephered caste was residing in Tirupati. A cash deposit of 2180 panam was made in 1545 A.D., for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesha and other deities with certain offerings on all the seven days of 10 Brahmothsavam.[51]

Tirumala-Amman, daughter of Kamasayyanagar of Bhardvaja gotra, paid 300 nar panam for 60 tirupponakataigal to Sri Venkatesha as Dhanurmasa Puja offerings in her name in 1547 A.D.[52]

Chinnamman, daughter of Pratapa Ellamarasar, granted in 1547 A.D. Ramachadrapuram yielding an annual income of 300 rekhai for offering to Sri Govindaperumal and Sri Vithalesa Perumal in Tirupati.[53]

Lingamma wife of Lakkisetti, made a gift of paddy and gold for the service of the God Kalideva with the prayer that her son Lingayya might prosper and handed over the gift of Devarasijiya, to the head of the temple on Tuesday, December 23, 1550 A.D.[54]

The inscription of 1550 A.D., records the gift of land by a Brahmana lady to the shrine of Annamalainatha built by her in the temple of Svayambhunathesvara for the merit of herself and her husband Kumara Dindimar Annamalainatha.[55]

Lingamma, wife of Veligotikomara Nayaka, granted 14 putti and 10 tumu of aland, a village by name Lingapuram to the Gods Ishta-Kameshvara and vishveshvara of Macherla in Nagarjunakonda Sima in 1554 A.D.[56]

Elli-Tirumagal, daughter of Elli authorized the trustees of Tirumalai temples, to deliver some prasadam to the devotees, temple-councilors and the donor out of the preparations offered in the name of Elli-Tirumaganila 1561 A.D.[57]

Bokkasam yallamma erected the temple of Mallikarjuna in 1561 A.D., and purchased a garden for 40 paGodas and granted it to Mallikarjuna.[58]

An inscription in 1569 A.D., registers a gift of the village Danayakanahalli in Jevanige-nade of Vastare-sime, renamed

Papatimmapura, for services in the Keshava temple at Beluru by Venkatamma, daughter of Papatimma Nayaka.[59]

3.5 Mahamandaleshvara Women as Donors

The women as Mahamandaleshvara played a dominant role in the life of the kingdom. They gave liberal grants to temples. The following are some of the inscriptions, which records Mahamandaleswara women as great donors to temples, mathas and bastis.

An inscription of 1467 A.D., refers Srirangambadevi-amman, queen of Sriman Mahamandelesvara. As king saluva Narasimha excavated an irrigation Channel in a temple Village, the document was executed for the supply of articules for 4 tirupponakam to be offered daily to Sri Venkatesha for her merit.[60]

An inscription of 1470 A.D. records Mahasamanta-nayaka's mother Kallarasiyamma renovated the whole temple of Sidda Mallikarjuna at sampige, Gubbi taluk.[61] An epigraph 1479 A.D., states that Ramadevi, mother of a Certain Mandalika Samantha made a gift of land for offerings to the temple of Suryanarayanadeva at Niravi.[62]

Sayamma, mother of Mahamandaleshvara Vira Somana Nayaka, made a permanent exemption of 15 varahas to be paid to the royal treasury towards tax etc., on land belonging to God Janaradana of Srirangapura for the worship of God and conducting festivals in 1482 A.D.,[63] states an inscription.

Lakshmi-amman, the sister of Kommaraja Timmaraja Udaiyar made provision for daily offering to Venkatesha in 1493 A.D., by a cash investment of 1000 pannam, for improving the temple village Tiramaneri.

Periya-Narasamman (wife) of Kommaraja Periya she made provisions for certain offering required to be offered daily and on festival days at the Anantam pillar Mantapam which she reconstructed at her own cost in 1463 A.D.[64] at Tirumalai records an inscription.

An epigraph of 1498 A.D., states that Maladakali Umba Liganapati's wife granted some lands for the service of offering food to the Kalasanatha.[65]

An inscription registers a gift of 7 hons and hanas, for daily offerings to God Kalasanatha, by Balamadevi younger sister of Bhairarasa wodeya who was governing Kalasarajya in 1501 A.D.[66]

An inscription of 1525 A.D. refers Sankhanadevi, sister of Devannarasa, made a gift of the produce of some of her lands to the basti at Kiyaravuru for offerings and worship.[67]

Narasamma, wife of Mahamandaleshvara Goburaivobaya constructed a Vasantha Mandapa to the north of the Diguva Tirupati, endowed 120 Varahas to the temple for conducting out of the interest there on the festivals in honour of the God Ahobaleshvara in that Mandapa in 1548 A.D.[68] records an inscription.

An inscription in 1562 A.D., registers a gift of land by Samkamma daughter of samkubale and grand daughter of Kumchada sarasu, for feeding of Brahmanas in the temple of somanatha. The gift lands were purchased from the temple itself.[69]

Arasadevi made a gift of land to the temple of Narasimhadeva at Banavasi at the instance of Ramagapparajayya in 1571 A.D.[70] records an inscription.

An inscription in 1597 A.D., registers a gift of the village Manuvuru for the worship of and offerings to various God like Virabhadra Channa mallikarjuna, Kedaradeva etc., by Devarasi, queen of Viranna Wodeya.[71]

An inscription in 1599 A.D., registers the grant of an agrahara to the west of Kunigal by Venkata Krishnajamma Gaudarajya, the Yelahankanad Prabhu, for the merit of her father in law and mother-in-law.[72]

An inscription of 1606 A.D., say that Hiriyamma, consort of the Mahauadu Prabhu Mumadi Chikkappa gauda of Bijevare, caused to be erected as a Shiva Dharma a Virakta matha. It is probable that this Matha is identical with the one which is now known as Gaurammana Matha.[73]

Thus the above inscriptions throw light on Mahamandaleswara women as donors to temples, bastis, and mathas. Women were given good respect in this period.

3.6 Donors for Family Welfare

Kings, Mahamandaleshvaras, temple accountants, servants, Nayakas, Dandanayakas and the common people donated money, lands, gold, villages and constructed temples in the honour of their parents and mothers. There are number of inscriptions which can substantiate these aspects.

An inscriptions of 1351 A.D., states that Savemna Wodeya, granted the village Naguru, to God Bhairava for the merit of his father Kamparaju and mother Mengadevi.[74]

An inscription from Enamadalu of Narasaropet taluk of Guntur district dated 1388 A.D., mentions one Tummalacheruvu Rami Setti of Sale (weaver) caste as the devotee of Mallikarjunadeva and who gave central pillar to the Mandapa of the temple together with cows for perpetual lamp for the merit of his parents.[75]

An inscription of 1397 A.D., records that a gift of land was made by Mahamandaleshvara Apratimalla Gangaya Devachoda Maharaja to the stone cutter Chamayabattudu, who constructed the temple of God Bhairavadeva of Goturu for the merit of his parents, Maldevaraja and Maldevamma.[76]

An inscription of 1401 A.D., refers to a gift, made by a Nayaka of some vritis to the village Shivapuram to Mallubhatta for worship and offerings of God Mallinatha for the merit of his parents.[77]

An inscription of 1404 A.D., refers that Harihara II, had renamed Jambur in the Hoysala country into Honnalapura after his mother and gifted it to the Brahmanas.[78]

An epigraph of 1411 A.D., records a gift of land to the God Bhairavadeva of Goturu by Mahamandaleshvara Obaleyya Devachoda Maharaja, for the merit of his father and mother Avubhalamma.[79]

An epigraph of 1413 A.D., states that the village Bekkanahalli was renamed Gaurapura by madanna in the memory of his mother Gauradevi, and was gifted to a Virasaiva Guru Manjinathadeva of Rayasamudra for the maintenance of his mutt.[80]

Devaraya changed the name of Manangi to Lakshmi narayanapura and gave it to his Acharya. His mother's name was Narayanambika and probably he changed it in honour of his mother in 1444 A.D.[81]

An epigraph of 1444 A.D., registers that a gift of land was made to the God Ramayyadeva of Velupura by Kesajhulu of the village, for the merit of his parents.[82]

An inscription of 1460 A.D., states that a Dennayaka (name is lost) granted a village as an agrahara named after his mother Sitayayemma.[83]

Krishnadevaraya in 1513 A.D., registers the royal gift of a golden prabhavali set with precious stones and granted some village for daily worship and offerings to the God Kalahastisvara-Mahadeva for the merit of his parents, Narasanayaka Odeya and Nagajiamma.[84]

An inscription of 1514 A.D., registers the gift of gold, copper, and money to the temple for gilding the Punya koti Vimana of the temple of perarulala Perumal by the king Krishnadevaraya for the merit of his parents Narasanayaka Wodeya and Nagajima and himself.[85]

An epigraph of 1517 A.D., refers to Lakshmikantarsu, who constructed a temple of Prasanna Keshava Perunal for the merit of his parents Tipparasayya and Ramayamma.[86]

An inscription in 1521 A.D., states that Timmaraju granted a share of the income from the land conducting festivals in the temple of Hajara Ramasvami, for the merit of his parents Chikka Timmaraja Wodeya and konajiamma.[87]

An epigraph of 1524 A.D., confirms that Benkachiya Gauda, gave a pura to Virana Odeya for the worship of Siva temple, so that its merit might to be his father and mother.[88]

An Inscription of 1527 A.D., registers a gift of 200 panam by Chandrashekharayyan, Kannadiga Brahman of Devikapuram, for the merit of his father and mother Shankaramman, and this money was arranged to be spent on bringing lands under cultivation and digging pits in the tank of chiltattur, a devadana village and from the yield of this land a lamp to be burnt on the Kailaimbalai.[89]

An inscription in 1528 A.D., records that Mallappanna. In Mallapura gave some land at Morabe to the God Suryainarayanadeva for the merit of his mother Viramma.[90]

An inscription states that in 1529 A.D., Siddhavatam Yallamarusayya granted a village Nuvusulapadu in Sakali Sima to God Chennakeshava of Kattrakandla for the merit of his mother Achchama.[91]

Ellapa Nayaka, servant of Achyutaraya, for the service to the God Mallikarjuna made a grant of land of Pushpagiri in order to increase the merit of his parents in 1533 A.D.[92]

In 1535 A.D., Salakaraja, gave for offerings to the God Narasimhadeva the village of mallinayanipalle which he had founded, for the merit of his father Salakaraja and his mother Tippajamma.[93]

An inscription of 1535 A.D., states that Achyutaraya constructed seven mantapas and one of the seven mantapas was name after his mother Obchchiamman.[94]

An epigraph of 1544 A.D., states that Matta-Varadaraja constructed a mantapa in the name of his mother Chenaman at Tirumalai.[95]

An inscription in 1545 A.D. refers that Mahamandaleshvara Timmaraju had the Rangamandapam to God Madhava built to the west of the big bazaar street for the merit of his parents Vallabhanju and Vengalamma.[96]

Turuvanantalvan Kuppayan, one of the temple accounts for the merit of his mother Periyaperumal, he deposited 2210 panam for the daily offerings in Tirupati in 1545 A.D.[97]

Tallabhakkam Tiruvenkatanatha, granted 2 villages, Sendaluru yielding an annual income of 500 rekhai and Mallavaram, yielding an annual income of 120 rekhai pon for the offerings of Sri Alamelumanai – Nachchivar on the day's of annual ceremony of his father and mother in 1546 A.D.[98]

Vallabhayyadeva-Maharjau, in the name of his mother Krishnamma, maintained the garden and supplied garlands to God Varadaraju in 1549 A.D.[99]

In 1555 A.D., Eramanayaka, made a gift on the occasion of Uttanadvadasi, for the merit of his mother Desammal and offerings to the Goddesses sudikkodutta Nachchiyar in Pengalanadu village.[100]

An epigraph of 1558 A.D., states that Vithalarajayyadeva maharaju, made a gift of half the village of Murtirayapuram to God Vithaladeva, for the merit of his parents Mutiraju and Tirumalamma.[101]

An inscription in 1559 A.D., refers to Timmayagauda, the chief of Suguturu, granted Simasandra in Nanjiguli, for the service of Amrita mallikarjuna in order that merit may accrue to his parents and guru.[102]

An epigraph of 1561 A.D. states that Krishnappa Nayaka, in order that merit might accrue to both his father Baippa-Nayaka and his mother Kondamma, made a grant of the kadaji village in Billichodu-sime for the Chatra and necessary offerings to God Harihara.[103]

An inscription of 1572 A.D., states that Srirangaraya registers the grant of the village of Vadigepalli as an agrahara to Tirumala Komara Tetacarya of Penugonda for the merit of the kings mother Vengalaj Ammavaru.[104]

An inscription of 1579 A.D., refers to Lakhenayaka, who made a gift of village hanumasamudra, for the worship and offerings to the God Hanumanta of Satenahalli for the merit of his parents.[105]

An inscription of 1579 A.D., registers the grant by Sriranga, he renamed after his mother Vengalamba, for the benefit of Ramanujakuta at Sriperumbudur and a flower garden there. This gift was made at the request of one Tirumalanambi Srirangamma connected with the Tatacharya family, who was famous for her piety.[106]

An inscription in 1626 A.D., refers Murtliyappanayaka and Puttanna nayaka, had Kaisala (Verandah) of 26 squares constructed in the temple of Chennarayasvami of Velapura for merit of his parents.[107]

An inscription of 1641 A.D., states that Lingarajayya, granted two villages Mavinahalli and Karisiddanapura, for the merit of his parents.[108]

3.7 Donors Donated for the Merit of Daughter and Sister

An inscription of 1524 A.D., states that one Pedilikoduku Chenaiyan, for the merit of Tirumalamman, daughter of Saluva Govindaraja, granted the village hanumanigunta for the purpose of propitiating Srivenkatesha.[109]

An epigraph refers to Singaraja, third brother of Varadaji-amma, made certain offerings for Sri Venkatesha in 1537 A.D., for the merit of his sister.[110]

An epigraph of 1555 A.D., refers Vengalaraju registers the gift of village Konasamudram in Siddhapurmsima, for the merit of his daughter Konama, for the worship of God Tiruvengalanatha of Konasamudram.[111]

An inscription in 1556 A.D., records the establishment of the village Achyutamapura by Baskara Ramappayya for the merit of his daughter.[112]

An inscription of 1372 A.D., states that Bukka, made a grant of Honnapura-Halandulige in Manjaradad taluk. The village evidently came to be known after his daughter.[113]

3.8 Devadasis as Donors

Devadasis were quite rich. They played a dominant role as donors to temple. They made liberal grants for temples in order to become immortal. During the reign of Saluva Narasimha, Venkata Valliyar, who was the daughter of Savaripperumal and one of the damsels attached to the temple of Sri Narasimhasvami in Tirupati. The trustees of Tirumali temple arranged for daily offerings to Sri Venkatesha as she paid a sum of 1000 panam as into the temple treasury on 7th November 1457 A.D.[114]

In the same reign, Valandi, daughter of Anaimadi and one of the temple damsels made a gift in the form of money for providing an offering to Sri Venkatesa as Dhanurmasa Puja during Margali month in 1486 A.D.[115]

During Sadashivaraya's reign Selli, the daughter of one of the temple damsels, residing in Tirupati, she deposited a sum of 1120 panam for the celebration of new harvest festival at Tirumalai for Sri Venkatesha as her Ubhaiyam in 1543 A.D.[116]

In the same reign Lingasani and Tiruvenkata Manikkam the daughters of Tiruvenkatadasi belonging to the temple damsel class residing in Tirupati, gave 1600 panam to the temple treasury as the Ubhaiyam of these two sisters[117] in 1543 A.D.

During the same period, Senbaka Vengu, daughter of Timmi, who was the daughter of Tunga Selvi, one of the temple damsels residing in Tirupati. A contribution of 600 panam was deposited by her for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesa. On all the 9th festival day during 10 Brahmotsavam as her Ubhaiyam in 1545 A.D.[118]

Nagasani, daughter of Obulayyam, one of the temple damsels, she constructed a mantapam at a Tirumalai in 1545 A.D.[119]

Tiruvenkata-Manikkam, daughter of Tipasani, who was one of the famous damsels was residing in Tirupati, pollapadi Timmaraja and the trustees of Tirumalai temple granted for her use a dandikai (Palanquin) as a token of honour for the services rendered by her for her use towards the temples in Tirupati and at Tirumala in 1546 A.D.[120]

Lingasani, daughter of Tiruvenkatadasi, one of the temple-damsels was residing in Tirupati. She arranged for 10 Manoharapadi to be made to Sri Utsava Murti on all the 7th festival day during Brahmotsavam at Tirumalai as her ubhaiyam in 1548 A.D.[121]

Seuvusani, daughter of Angali, one of the Tirupati temple damsels paid a sum of 200 panam as capital for the daily offerings to Sri Vigneshvara installed by her in the temple of Sri Kapileshvarasvami at Kapilatirtham in Tirupati in 1563 A.D.[122]

An inscription of 1535 A.D., states that Peruchchi, one of the temple damsels, residing in Tirupati, deposited a sum of 230 panam for one Tiruvolakkam offering on the day of Makara-Sankraman festival celebrated in Tirupati temple.[123]

Another inscription of 1535 A.D., states that Chikkayasavani and her younger sister Govindasani, daughter of Polunayaka, and two of the temple damsels, residing in Tirupati, inaugurated a festival called Chittirai-Vishnu (Tamil New Year's day) in Tirupati temple which was arranged to be conducted by depositing 1750 panam into the temple treasury.[124]

The above inscriptions throw the light on the practice of donations to temples, mutts and other religious institutions by the women of the said period. We have an exhaustive list of these donations in the inscriptions. Name of not only royal women, noble women but also women of trading communities and of ordinary families. The evidence shows that the women of this period enjoyed a level of economic Independence, means of livelihood and property rights, which helped them to make generous donations to religious institutions.

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3.9 Religion and Women

Vijayanagara broadly sympathized with all religious faiths, doctrines and dogmas. The cult of devotion of Bhakti assumed universal proportion and played a predominant role in religious practices and spiritual aspirations. Vijayanagara Empire consisted of all types of people of various religious faiths. While the capital has become a cosmopolitan city. The policy of religious tolerance was followed by the kings of Vijayanagara.

The early Vijayanagara kings were Saivas but later Kings became staunch Vaishnavas with a predilection for God Venkatesha of Tirupati.

The various sculptures and paintings in the temple and the performance of dance and drama, which were generally based on religious themes from the Puranas, epics, etc., greatly helped the dissemination of knowledge both religious and secular, among the devotees and especially the illiterate pilgrims frequenting the shrines. In view of the teaching arrangements made in some of the Hindu temples of this period, it is quite reasonable to infer that they also maintained their libraries. The Sankirtana Bhandaram attached to the temple of Sri Venkateshvara of Tirupati, where the copper plates of thousands of Sankirtanas (devotional songs) composed by the Musician poets of the famous Tallapaka family were preserved, can be regarded in a way as a library.[1]

Piligrimages formed an important factor in the socio religious life of all classes of people during this period. Vratas too has always occupied

an important place in the religious practices of the people. Contemporary literary records and epigraphs contain references to many Vratas performed by the people of this period. Most of these Vratas have survived even to this day. Some of the Vratas were Shaiva and some Vaishnava while a few were common to people of all sects. Again some were of a general character, while others were performed from the attainment of a particular end.

The making of gifts or danas was an important element in Hindu religious practice Literary and epigraphic record of the period under review contain numerous references to various kinds of gifts made by king, nobles, courtiers, Devadasis, and commanders, wealthy citizens and pious pilgrims and learned brahmans, common women on different occasions to the temples.

An inscription in 1372 A.D., registers a gift of land for feeding 12 Brahmanas and 1 cook in the matha within his garden at Kellamgire of Choliyakeri by Maji, mother of Ayyapa, after purchase from Koteyappa, daughter of Chavakka and others.[2]

The queens and the Royal women gave grants to temples during this period. Queen Bukkavve gave grants to Basadi. Bhimadevi, queen of Devaraya I established the image of Shanthinatha in the Magayi basadi at Shavanabelogala.[3]

Kamaladevi, wife of Devaraya II made gift of land to temple of Kalinatha of Bidire in Tumkur district.[4]

An inscription of A.D., 1378 states the Bommarasa was ruling, the Barakura rajya. It states that the Mahapradhana Mudde-Dannayaka purchased three plots of land and made a gift of them and some gold for

the offerings and other services to God Kotisvara, for feeding 13 Brahmans everyday in the temple and for the wages of two women who waved chauris before the God.[5]

An inscription in 1378 A.D., records gifts of money for rudrapuje, feeding 3 Brahmans, burning lamps of ghee, offering panchamrita, supply of garlands of tulasi etc., in the temple of Somaideva of Manigarekeri by Nagave, wife of Ramanna Setti.[6]

An inscription in 1397 records the consecration of a lamp-pillar in the temple of Jadeyasankaradeva by the queen Bukkayavve for the merit of her preceptor Bhaskaradevayya.[7]

An inscription in 1430 A.D., records Devaraya II the king is described as turuka-Maha-Raya Prabalarainyavidari, he is said to have inaugurated the Tribhuvana-Chudamani-Chaityalaya at Bidire in Nagire rajya. His wife Nagaladevi had a Mana-stambha erected and daughters Lakshmi and Panditdevi arranged for feeding.[8]

Naranadevi, mother of Devaraya II was a devotee of Vishnu, she made the gift of villages Kelagundani and Kaigai, to provide offerings to God Ramachandra and to feed the Brahmanas,[9] in 1432 A.D.

The common women or the ordinary women give liberal grant to temples during this period. In the reign of Pradhana Devaraya Maharaya, the lady reader of the palace named Honammava purchased a plot of land and made a gift of it on Jan 19, 1458 A.D. for offerings, to the God Mallikarjuna and for feeding five Jangamas in the temple.[10]

Thimmanna Dannayaka's wife Nacharamma made a grant in 1471 A.D., to the fifty two Sri Vaishnavas of Melkote.[11]

Valandi, daughter of Anaimdi and one of the temple damsels gifted money for providing an offering to Srivenkatesa as Dhanurmasapuja during Margali month in 1486 A.D.[12]

An inscription in 1493 A.D., refers a gift of 20 panas by Sovanna, son of somachara Hariyanna for feeding a Brahmana on the occasion of Rudrapuja in the temple of Kalasanatha. It registers a gift of land by the wife (Maduvalige) of Graunpati for feeding married women (Muttaide) and of offerings.[13]

An inscription in 1510 A.D., registers the gift of some land by purchase in the village of Muddannayahalli to Saibhatta, son of Tirumalabhatta of Hampe, for the purpose of daily offerings to God Virupaksha, Bukkajamma, mother of Narasa-Nayaka. [14]

Tirumaladevi queen of Krishnadevaraya, presented a gold cup to Srivenkatesha for offering milk in the worship of God in the night in 1513 A.D.[15] to Tirumala temple.

In 1514 A.D., Chinnadevi Junior queen of Krishnadevaraya, presented a costly necklace to Srivenkatesha and granted Mudiyar village for five tirupponkam offering to be made daily.[16] Varadajideviamman, the queen of Achyutaraya, arranged for an avasaram for Tiruvenkata Mudiyar in 1534 A.D.[17]

An Inscription in 1520 A.D., records a gifts of money by Madarai, wife of Rama Senabova of Karkala and Bommarasi, wife of Sangarasa Senabova, for special offerings etc., to God Kalasanatha. [18]

An inscription of 1550 A.D., records the gift of land by a Brahmana lady to the shirne of Annamalainatha built by her, in the same temple of

Svayambhunathesvara for the merit of herself and her husband kumara Dindimar Annamalainatha.[19]

An inscription of 1590 A.D., states that, when twin daughters Padmaasi and Devarasi were born to Devarasi, wife and Ambuvana Sreshthi he fixed a ball metal on a pillar in front of the Nemisvara Chaityalaya, with a golden Kalasa on it.[20]

A popular phase of the religion prevalent in the Vijayanagara days as it was the worship of the Nagas (snakes). Virupaksha himself was considered to be the Lord of the Nagas. The Vijayanagara, sovereigns worshipped the Nagas and considered Shiva as Naganatha, the lord of the Nagas, their queens set up nagakals in the temples, which they attended, and also special female Naga deities.[21]

It is curious to note that some of the members of the royal family of the Kalas Karkala chiefs also patronized Jainism by endowing grants to the Jaina institutions. In support of these the following examples may be cited.

Viramba, the queen of Gururaja Wodeya (1523-27 A.D.,) took up the cause of Jainism at Bhatkal. In 1490 A.D., she is said to have erected a grand Mansion with halls, Pattasala and rooms for the residence of the ascetics in front of the Chaityalaya built by Chennaayala at Ambalakatti (near Bhatkal).[22] in 1511, the same queen showed her zeal for Jainism by donating land to Jain basadi at Mudu Bhatkal for the performance of milk bath to the Tirthankaras of the basadi.[23] In 1531 A.D., Kaladevi, the younger sister of Bhairavaraya, endowed grants to Parshva Tirthankara in the kallu basadi in Bhggunje sime. The above donation was made to the basadi for the merit of her deceased daughter.[24]

A stone inscription dated 1530 A.D., from Ambala Katte (near Bhatkal) informs us that Viramba got erected bronze images of twenty four Tirthankaras in the same basadi mentioned above.[25]

It is interesting to note that in some cases women took interest in the erection of the Mathas and for that the Nayaka also made liberal grants. For example, in 1641 A.D., a Matha was built under the authority of Mahamattu in the name of Siddamma at Someshvara.[26]

Gokarna was a great centre of Shaiva learning. An inscription form Midjan, dated 1526 A.D., states that one Mahalappa Senabove purchased a piece of land from the queen of Gerasoppe (1523-29) and donated as gift for the study of shastras and the performance of rituals in the Mahabalesvara and other temples at Gokarna.[27]

Chennadeviamma, the queen of Sangitapura (1541-1551 A.D.,) donated 3 gadyanas to God Mahabaleshvara. Further the queen instructed that the amount should be utilized for the maintenance of Dharma in the temple.[28] Queen Chennabhairadevi, the next queen of Sangitapura renewed the above grant.[29]

Robert Sewell also pays tribute to the policy of religious toleration pursued by Krishnadevaraya, Sadashiva Raya and Ramaraya allowed the Muslims to construct mosques and follow the principles and practices of their religion. Ramaraya also kept a Quran in front of his throne. Many rulers of the empire gave grants to the Dargas of the Muslims.

The rulers of Aravidu dynasty were also known for religious toleration. The Christian priests who visited the court of Venkata II were so much impressed by the respect shown by the king that they presumed that he would become a convert to Christianity. In this way the

Vijayanagar monarch's treated all religions with due respect and patronized various religious and philosophies in their empire. Devaraya II not only employed Muslims in his army, he even kept a Quran before his throne so that Muslims could bow to him and to the quran at the same time. He even caused a Mosque to be built for his Muslim subjects at the capital.

Krishnadevaraya though a Vaishnava, repaired Virupaksha temple at Hampi and got the gopuram constructed. He also gave liberal grants to many Shiva temples. Everyone could live following his religion. There was no compulsion in this matter. There was no distinctin of Christian Jew and a Hindu. Shaivism, Veerashaivism, Vishistadwaitha philosophy, Dwaita philosophy flourished during this period.

Thus, we come across women of different ranks making endowments either to temples, choultries or other work of public utility and to Brahmins. From the above instances it can be said that women of all ranks contributed freely and liberally in their individual capacity to pious works. Women were highly religious in the period under review. Women played a dominant role in the field of religion during this period under review. The Royal women, queens, ordinary women or the common people, temple dancers and women musicians served the temples. Religion effected women in every aspect of life.

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CHAPTER - IV
CONSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

4.0 Introduction

The Vijayanagara emperors were prolific builders. They encouraged their subordinates and people not only to build temples but also to patronize them with munificent grants. During this period, a constructional campaign was undertaken throughout Karnataka as well as South India on an unprecedented scale. Such a countrywide movement was the result of vast monetary resources, peaceful situation, commanding personality of kings that provided content and comfort to the people even during the external threats and a powerful religious impetus to inspire the people and administrative machinery alike. The Vijayanagara rulers replenished all these factors. Increase in military success that brought wealth and land to the country, induced the kings to construct the temples on a magnificent scale. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the empire became so strong that even during the severe external inroads, the people remained calm and engaged themselves in the constructional campaign as the king assured them of their safety. In the religious field, the rulers upheld Dharma and protected the religious rights and interests of the people. The religious tendency had its own effect in building the temples throughout the empire. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam opines, "The history of the religion of the Vijayanagara house is in a way an epitome of the history of the religious movements in the empire".[1]

The temple stood as symbolic expression of the religious impulse of the people. The temples were not only the houses of Gods but they controlled the interest of the people.[2] The temples also fulfilled the needs of the society such as imparting education, providing monetary help,

administering justice and so on. In a way the temples were the nucleus of religious as well as social life of the people. Erection of temples was a socio-religious necessity and this was considered to be the prime duty of the kings and the people as well. The Vijayanagara kings have constructed about one thousand eight hundred temples throughout Karnataka. Among these the number of temples that were built in the capital Vijayanagara (Hampi), including big and small will alone amount to about one thousand two hundred. Most of the temples built at the capital are dedicated to the God Vishnu and his spouse.

Excluding Hampi and neighbouring areas, four hundred and eighty-four temples built during this period could be seen in various places of Karnataka. The table given below furnishes the number of these temples dedicated to various sects of Hinduism and Jainism:

Sects/religion	**No. of temples**	**Percentage (approx)**
Shaiva	219	45.25
Vaishnava	200	41.32
Shakti	026	5.37
Harihara	006	1.24
Jaina	003	6.80
Total	484	

The rulers of the Sangama dynasty were Shaivas, whereas the rulers of Saluva, Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties were staunch Vaishnavas. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century Haridasa and Srivaishnava movements became dominant in the religious realm of the empire. These movements and the personal leanings of the kings resulted in the increase of the number of Vaishnava temples in the

capital. The different classes of people who involved in the constructional campaign during this period can be categorized into five groups:

I. The kings and members of the royal family

II. Ministers, feudatories, generals and higher officers of the state.

III. Merchant class

IV. Local administrators and other officials

V. Individuals and collective efforts.

4.1 Vijayanagara Rulers

Some scholars are of the opinion that Harihara I and Bukka I did not construct the temples of much architectural importance.[4] There seems to be no basis for such a reasoning. It is true that these two brothers set up the empire in a politically blusterous period, and their struggle to consolidate the empire consumed much of their strength and time, and it is obvious that they had to fight for their survival. Still they are known to have patronized the temples by bestowing liberal grants and commissioned their officers in this constructional campaign. Sovappa-nayaka,[5] brother-in-law of Bukka I got excavated a tank and constructed a Shiva temple at Sibi in Tumkur district in 1345 A.D. An inscription at Chitradurga[6] furnishes information that Mahamandaleshvara Mallinatha-Odeya, brother-in-law of Bukka I raised an upper storey of stone (kalla upparige) for God Siddhanatha of Bemmattanakallu, consecrated a pinnacle and set up a stone swingframe (uyyale).

Decoration of a temple was as important as the construction of it. The king himself was taking interest in such matters. Under the order of Bukkanna Odeya, Mahapradhana Malleyadandanatha who was governing Barakuru-rajya showed concern for the decoration of Somanatha temple of Tembulakere.[7]

Spiritual inspiration combined with royal patronage helped to a large extent the constructional activities as observed from the administration of Kamparaya. When Kamparaya was administering Araga-rajya, on the order of Virupanna-Odeya, son of Bukka I, the local officers at Nagalapura repaired the dilapidated temple of Nagareshvara in the presence of Vidyaranya sripada of Sringeri-matha in 1377 A.D.[8] At the instance of the royal preceptor Kriyasakti, Harihara II renovated the old Mahamaya temple at Kukanur[9] and made elaborate arrangements for its worship converting the place into a centre of Vedic studies.

The King's (Harihara II) brother-in-law Malla-Odeya erected the temple of Rameshvara in 1392 A.D. at Kasabekote in Kolar district.[10] Erection of lamp-columns in front of temples, was regarded equally an important act of piety as building a temple. The royal members as well as common folks involved in such deeds with a competitive spirit. Bukkavve,[11] the queen of Harihara II, who was described as ardhanga-laksmi, consecrated a dipamala pillar (lamp-pillar) in 1397 A.D. in front of the temple of Jadeyasankaradeva on the Hemakuta hill at Hampi.

Devaraya I consecrated two Gods Vishveshvara and Laksminarayana at Gulaganji and built the temples to house them in 1408 A.D.[12] His son Mallanna-Odeya[13] who was ruling Chitradurga region made grants to meet expenditure on decoration and festivals to the God Hidimbeshvara on the hill of Chitradurga and built a stone tower over the southern entrance of the temple in 1411 A.D.

Jainism, too, received the royal patronage during the Vijayanagara period like other sects of Hinduism. Bhimadevi, the queen of Devaraya II established an image of Santinathashvami in the Mangayi basadi at Shravanabelagula.[14] Devaraya II also built a chaityalaya[15] for Arhat

Parsvanatha,[16] orienting north-east on the street of Kramukaparna-pana[17] at his residence in Vidyanagara (Hampi).

At the instance of the king Mallikarjuna, his officer Rayappannayya[18] founded a village called Somalapura (now it is called Nimbapura near Talarighat at Hampi). Then, the king built a temple, erected a lamp-column, a sandhya-mantapa and a tower in front of the temple and consecrated the God Saumya Someshvara in 1450 A.D.

A worn-out record of Vijayapura[19] dated 1461 A.D. states that a temple was erected for the God Mulasthana Mahadeva.

The chief of Nuggehalli Basavarajadeva maha-arasu erected a stone gateway ornamented with a tiger-vace (huli-mukha)[20] at the eastern entrance of the village Santigrama in Hassan district. The chief is described as aliyandiru (son-in-law) of Praudhadeva-maharaja.

With the advent of Krishnadevaraya, the constructional campaign assumed a new dimension. He was a man of art and letters. Under his royal patronage, several structures of importance were erected. He was coronated in 1509 A.D. To commemorate his coronation, he built in front of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi, a large assembly hall, known as maharangamantapa and a Gopura in front of the latter.[21] He also repaired the great Gopura in the front of the temple and offered to the God a golden lotus set with nine gems and a snake ornament.[22]

Krishnadevaraya who achieved a remarkable victory over the Gajapathi in 1513 A.D. reduced the fort of Udayagiri to ‘pulp’, and brought the image of Balakrishna[23] from there with great care and enshrined it in a jeweled mantapa. This is the famous Krishna temple at Hampi, built by him to house this image.

Vitthala temple at Hampi is one of the finest temples of the Vijayanagara period. Krishnadevaraya and his queens erected the towered gateway of the temple in 1513 A.D. and enriched the temple by giving gold and silver vessels.[23a] To the right side of the principal shrine is a Hundred Columned Hall. This was also built by Krishnadevaraya in 1515 A.D.

King Achyutaraya[25] erected a Simhasana for the God Bukkeshvara to the west of the temple of Virupakshadeva at Havinal-Virapura in Hospet taluk in 1534 A.D. This was done for the merit of his grand-father, Ishvara-nayaka and grand-mother, Bukkaja-amma. His brother-in-law, Hiriya Timmaraja-Odeya[26] installed the God Tiruvengalanatha-deva in the large temple complex, locally known as Achyutaraya temple on the bank of the Tungabhadra River at Hampi in 1534 A.D. He also created a bazaar known as Achyutapete around the temple. He also offered a gem set, jewels, gold and silver vessels for the worship of the God. The next ruler was Sadashivaraya and he was the last ruler of the empire also. Though he made bountiful gifts and grants to the temples, he is not known to have erected temples, probably due to his politically helpless position.

4.2 Elite Class

Contribution of commanders, ministers to the constructional campaign of the period are also equally great. A large number of notable temples were erected and ancillary structures were added to the earlier temples by them. As they wielded considerable power in the royal arena, their temples are naturally noted for majesty and grandeur. Irugappadandanatha, one of the generals of Harihara I, constructed a chaityalaya in 1342 A.D. at Anegondi.[27] One of the subordinates of this king, renovated an agrahara at Gandasi in Hassan district and got

consecrated the image of God Hanumanta.[28] When sovanna-Odeya, son of Harihara I was administering the northern provinces, one of his subordinates repaired the temple of Somayya-deva[29] in 1353 A.D. at Lakshmeshvar in Dharwar district. Mahamandaleshvara Virakampanna was responsible for the consecration of Tivaganayanar at Mamballi in Mysore district. Besides, he made liberal grants to the temple in 1359 A.D.[30]

Under the order of Narasa, the minister of Bukka I, Candrarasa renovated the ruined temple of Nilamanikka at Upendra (Maddur) in 1376 A.D.[31]

The larger and well known earlier temples drew the attention of the kings and the officers alike. Such temples were renovated and restored when they were in a dilapidated conditions, fresh architectural additions and alterations were also made. The Keshava temple at Belur was renovated and extended often during the period of the empire. This Hoysala structure was extended considerably during the period of the king Harihara II. The king commissioned Mahapradhana Kampanna to set up four granite pillars with capitals to sustain the cracked roof stones of the sukanasi of the temple.[32] In the reign-period of the same king, while his minister Muddappa was looking after the administration of Belur region, an officer malagarasa got the broken pinnacle (kalasa) of the Keshava temple, restored and covered it with gold.[33]

King Harihara's minister and general Baicapp'a son Irugappa built a stone temple for Kunthu-Jinanatha, the seventeenth tirthankara at Kamalapura in Hospet taluk in 1385 A.D.[34] Another minister of the king, Basava-dannayaka constructed a matha, mantapa, torana and madu to Adinatha and Pragatanatha in 1386 A.D. near the Krishna temple, Hampi.[35]

Renovation to the earlier temples took place widely. For that purpose money was derived from various sources. When Basappa-Odeya was ruling Gutti-rajya from Gova, an income from customs was channelised for the renovation of the temple of the Goddess Banadevi at Bandalike in 1396 A.D.[36]

The Channakeshava temple at Belur was often exposed to raids and inroads of the army of the Bahmani sultan of Gulbarga. The army burnt and destroyed the towered gateway of the temple under the leadership of Ganga-Salar. Gundappa-dandanatha,[37] the house-hold minister of the king Harihara and administrator of Belur region rebuilt the tower in seven storeys in1387 A.D.[38] He thoroughly renovated the Keshava temple and affixed a gold kalasa to the tower. The towered gateway is still surviving as the earliest specimen of Vijayanagara architecture. The same person also erected a bronze lamp-stand and presented it to this temple in 1395 A.D[38a] Vitthappa-Odeyar,[39] one of the prominent ministers of the king, consecrated God Somadeva in the Someshvara temple in 1398 A.D. at Katvatanahalli in Kolar district.[40] This temple is now in a dilapidated condition.

Mahapardhana Mallarasa was another prominent minister of the king Harihara II. He constructed a temple for God Vinayaka at Mallasandra and consecrated the God theirein.[41] The same minister set up the image of the God Laksminarayana[42] and raised a temple with a tower to house the image at this place. But this temple is no longer surviving to-day. While the king Bukka II was ruling, his ministers of the palace, Heggappa and Mallarasa[43] donated a golden pinnacle to the temple of Laksminarasimha at Marehalli which was known as Codendra-Caturvedimangala.

During the time of Devaraya I, his Mahapradhana Baicadanna-yaka[44] erected a dipti-stambha (a lamp-column) for the krttika (festival of lights) and a uyyale (swing) for the dolotsava of the Channakeshava temple at Belur.

Saluva Tipparaja-Odeya, husband of the elder sister of the king Devaraya II and his son Goparaja served as viceroys of Tekkal-nad.[45] Goparaja caused to be erected a towered gateway to the earlier Cola temple of kallavaradaraja at Tekal.[46]

Lakkanna-dannayaka, the famous minister and general of the king Devaraya II, served as the viceroy of Tekal, Mulabagilu, Barakuru, Madurai. He constructed the temple of Prasanna Virupaksha[47] in 1431 A.D. with enclosures, towers, golden finials at Virupakshi or Virupakshapura (which, in all likelihood, was his birth place). He also dug the Manmatha-puskarani following the configuration of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi. This is one of the prominent temples built on a grand scale. Vallabharaja, the viceroy of the king Devaraya II and son of Mahamandaleshvara Singaraja Chinnaraja, installed an image of Hanumanta in a temple built for it in 1444 A.D. at Kundagola in Dharwar district.[48]

Sometimes, rich and influential ladies were also very keen in the construction of temples. When Mahapradhana Timmanna-dannayaka was ruling over Nagamangala-nadu, his wife Rangambika made a substantial contribution to the Narayana temple at Melukote. This place is eulogized as Vaikunta-vardhana, Bhuloka Vaikunta, Jnanamantapa etc. She served the God by constructing a mantapa, a pond and offered a silver palanquin.[49] Apart from this, she constructed a 'Rangamatha' on a deserted site purchased for this purpose for feeding brahmanas her

husband persuaded the king Mallikarjuna to grant some villages as sarvamanya for the maintenance of this matha.[50]

Cikka Timma-bhupa,[51] the ruler of Nidugallu fort caused to be erected a Shiva temple in the name of his wife Laksmidevi at Nidugallu in Tumkur district. This temple is situated at Matanuru gate of Nidugallu fort.

The chief minister Padma[51a] has a Jina chaityalaya made together with suitable pavilions and set up the image of Parshvatirthankara there in at Horakere in Shimoga district in 1498 A.D. This minister is described as the "favourite of Saluvendra" (Immadi Narasimha) and the disciple of Panditacarya.

A record of Belur[52] states that Jakkanrpa, son of Timma set up a garudagamba (garuda-column) in front of the Keshava temple at that place. Jakkanrpa was a subordinate of the king Krishnadevaraya.

When a person was in distress and danger, he would take a vow to renovate a temple if he overcame from such a danger. Such a curious fact is noticed in the life of Immadi Bhairarasa, the governmor of Kalasa-Konkana-rajya. Krishnadevaraya attacked his kingdom and encamped at Mangaluru. The position of Immadi Bhairarasa was in peril. He took a vow that he would renovate the temple of Kalasa, if the emperor Krishnadevaraya and his army withdrew. After the withdrawal of the army of the emperor, he repaired the temple accordingly.[53]

Ramachandra temple at Hampi, popularly known as the Hazara Rama, though small in dimension is perhaps the finest and the best preserved structure at the capital. Timmaraja, son of MahamandaleshvaraChikka Timmayyadeva-maha-arasu built an

utsavamantapa in 1521 A.D. in front of this temple, besides making a large number of grants for the service of God Ramacandra.[54]

Kondaraya,[55] the maternal uncle of Vitthappa-nayaka who received Bemmattanakallu (Chitradurga) for his chieftaincy from the king, consecrated the God Vinayaka in Guntanuru. Besides, he made a grant of village and an income from various taxes for the services of the God. Both the temple and the icon have now disappeared.

Saluva Narasayya, son of Saluva Narasayya, grandson of Raya-nayaka, built a shrine for Adinarayana in the temple complex of Vitthala at Hampi in 1529 A.D. He was probably a powerful person from Vijayavada.[55a]

During the reign of the king Achyutaraya, Bamkiyarasa and Honneya-Kambali-Odeya,[56] the rulers of Kadari caused the installation of God Shankaradeva in a temple, now known as Nilakantheshvara at Kerekatte in 1514 A.D. in South Canara district.

Mahamandaleshvara Channadevamma[57] of Saluva family, daughter of mahaprabhu Virappa-Odeya and niece of Mahamandale-shwara Virappa-Odeya made a grant of tax-free land for twenty four tirthankaras of the basdi of Muda-bhatakala in 1550 A.D. This basdi was built by her grand-mother Viradevi-amma i.e., some fifty years ago. This basadi might have been constructed at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

Jetti-nayaka and Narasanayaka were minister and general respectively of Channabhairava-Mahadevi, the ruler of Gerusoppe. Both of them caused to be erected a caityalaya for Vardhamana-Jinendra at Bhatkala.[58] They made a gift of land for worship of Jinanatha after

having purchased from MahamandaleshvaraCannabhairavadevi. This basadi is now known as Bannadabasadi and it is one of the important basadis of South India.

An inscription found at Hampi records the construction of garbhagraha, sukhanasi, antaralika, rangamantapa for the service of tirumangai Alvar outside and prakara of Vitthala temple by Ahobalaraju, who was the son of mahamandaleshvara Koneti Ramaraju. This temple is situated to the north-west of the Vitthala temple on the south bank of the river Tungabhadra.

4.3 Merchant Class

Merchants played a significant role in the religious life of the country by constructing temples, making grants etc. They were the influential people in the society. Two merchants of Banavasi[59] caused to be erected Shantinathabasdi at Hirechauti in Shimoga district in 1349 A.D. and made a grant of lands for the maintenance of the basdi. Bangle-merchants of the capital of Bukka I, erected a monument in memory of the Jaina teacher Laksmisena Bhattaraka, disciple of Prabhakarasena at Sakkarepattana in Chikamagalur district.[60]

During the time of Harihara II, Yaragisetti, son of Yaragisetti, the Mahavaddavyavahari and Mahaprabhu of ubhayananadesis (a great merchant) constructed a temple of Virabhadra at Harabikottanur in Kolar district.[61]

Mayanna Makappa [62] of Vaisya community erected a monument in memory of a Jaina preceptor Mahasena, disciple of Laksmisena at Hosapattana (Vijayanagara) in about 1405 A.D. during the reign of Bukkaraya.

Devi-setti,[63] son of Mallisetti, a local merchant constructed a temple for the God Hanumanta at KadaGodi and set up a lamp-column in front of the temple in 1407 A.D.

People were doing charitable deeds to acquire merit for their elders conceiving that they might attain the abode of the Gods. Macarasa-setti[64] got a dipamala column (a lamp-column) erected to secure merit for his father Bommanna-setti at Yalahanka in Bangalore district in 1410 A.D. Another person of trading community, by name Poli-setti,[65] son of Peri-setti set up a lamp-column in front of Somesvara temple at Gubbi in Bangalore district.

Several groups of people like settikaras, (people of trading community)[66] entuprajes (eight groups of people) caused the erection of the Mahachaityalaya (a grand Jaina temple) called Tribhuvanachuda-mani basadi in 1430 A.D. at Mudabidare which was described as Jinadharmada agrahara. When the temple was completed, the king Devaraya II,[67] inaugurated the basti and consecrated the image of Chandraprabha-tirthankara in bronze. The site where the temple was built was granted by Devaraya-Odeya of Nagamangala, the governor of Mangalore province.[68]

Cikka Perumaladeva-Odeya, son of pradhana Perumaladeva-dandanatha, who was the subordinate of the king Devaraya II, gave Bettahalli to Alagi-setti, son of Madambala Anka setti as sarvamanya for establishing a new settlement. Having spent huge amounts, the donee got the place resettled and rebuilt the Ankanatha temple by renovating the garbhagrha, rangamantapa, tower etc.[69] An inscription, [69a] found at Kallesettihalli in Tumkur district unfolds the information that during the rule of Sovappanayaka, the brother-in-law of the king, Kalisetti, a local merchant excavated a tank and constructed a Shiva temple.

When the king's (Mallikarjuna) viceroy Ganappa-Odeya was governing Mangaluru-rajya, several settis[70] built the mukhamantapa of the Tribhuvanachudamanibasadi at Mudabidare in 1451 A.D. His another viceroy Vallabhadeva-dannayaka who was ruling over Barakuru-rajya, in association with Madanna-setti and Hosaba-setti constructed a chaityalaya for God AdhipaRameshvara at Chara in Tuluva-desa[71] in 1453 A.D. The viceroy Vallabhadava-dannayaka made a grant of land to this God for amrtapadi and other worships and offerings on various occasions.

Honni-setty,[71a] son of Akkana-setti of Gummalapura, the behari (manager) of the palace of the king Krishnadevaraya, caused to the built the gandhaGodi-mangapa in front of the rangamantapa of the temple of Virabhadra at Nagamangala in 1511 A.D. This place was eulogized as Srimadanadi-agrahara and Ballala-caturveda-bhattaratnakara.

During the rule of Krishnadevaraya, Parvatanayaka,[72] son of Malli-setti of the trading community installed a pillar in front of Kodi-Basavanna temple at Tumkur in 1515 A.D.

Gandahada Tippi-setti, son of adhikari Tippi-setti consecrated thirteen alvars within the temple complex of Vitthala at Hampi in 1534 A.D. He also granted money to the treasury of the temple for the worship and offerings to these alvars.

A record of Guttiganuru[73] states that Suriyappa-setti of Mula-sangha and balatkara-gana belonging to the Kamme Vaisya community repaired the temple of Jinadava at this place in 1545 A.D. for the benefit of Padmarasapandita.

4.4 Officers Class

Officers of the various ranks of the empire took an active part in the religious life of the country by consecrating deties and making bountiful and perpetual grants fro the maintenance of the temples. One of the regional officers of Bukka I, Muppamahipati set up Shiva temple complex with a big Nandi-mantapa at Irugappanahalli in 1359 A.D. in Kolar district.[74] One of the officers of Kampanna-Odeya founded a temple for God Ramanatha in 1362 A.D. at Agara.[75] An officer is said to have renovated a temple to fulfil the desire of his master. Such an example is reported from Banavasi. When Madhuvanka was governing the province of Banavasi-12000, his servant Aubhalanatha got the temple of Gopinatha renovated at Banavasi in 1368 A.D. to fulfil the desire of his master.[76] During the rule of Bukkaraya, one of his officers set up an image of Adinarayana-perumal at Anekal as an act of king's charity.[76a] Several officers[77] of Harihara II constructed a mantapa for the God Narasimha on the bank of the river Tungabhadra at Hampi. A custom officer of the capital (Hampi) by name Hiriya Timma-setti,[78] son of Bhayiri-setti constructed a Shiva temple and set up Kshetrapala image in Pampaksetra in 1368 A.D. This was the Chandramaulisvara temple of Hampi.[78a]

Under the order of Vallabharaya-maharaja, the palace-officer of the king, his servant constructed a temple for the God Keshava at Ballalasamudra in Chitradurga district in 1387 A.D. and set up a stone-pillar[79] in front of the temple.

In Vaishnava temple, setting up of Garuda and Hanumanta images were considered as a meritorious act. A local officer[80] named Malleyanayaka had the two Gods Garuda and Hanumanta set up in front

of the Keshava temple at Parasuramapura in Chitradurga district in about 1391 A.D.

While Mahapradhana Mangappa-dannayaka, one of the prominent generals (and the ancestor of the king Saluva Narasimha)[81] was administering Kolar region, the famous Gadidim Venkataramana temple was constructed by a local officer, named Tirumalanatha, grandson of Teppada Naganna-Odeya in 1391 A.D. at Devaragudipalli.[82] In the very next year, Tirumalanatha made a grant of a few villages for three stone masons who built this temple.[83]

During the time of Immadi Bukka, son of the king Harihara II, and the governor of Muluvayi-rajya, his administrator at Hudali erected a dipamala pillar (stone lamp-pillar) for God Vighnesvara at Tinnali in 1395 A.D. to provide merit for his parents.[84] Several nada-prabhus helped him in this venerable act.

Varadappa, the house-minster (maneya-pradhani) of the king constructed a Durga temple at Kaivara for his merit and prosperity.[85] He also made a grant of lands besides digging a large tank of the place for the service of the Goddess.

During the rule of Devaraya II, a local officer, called Varadayanayaka[86] caused to erect a temple for God Mallikarjuna with garbhagrha, sukanasi and rangamantapa at Kelegere in Mandya district. He also converted the village into an agrahara which was formerly a sudravada (a place of low class people). Setting up of a lamp-column in front of the temple, when a person died, was a practice of the day to cherish his memory and also provide merit for him. One such instance is reported from Somanathapura. A lamp-column was established for deeparadhana in front of Somanatha temple at this place in 1425 A.D.

when Devappa, the nadaprabhu of Honniyur, died.[87] Another column was planted in front of the kaladevi temple at Sirani in South Canara district by Nagarasanauyaka,[88] who was an officer of Mahamandale-shwara Krishnadevarasa-Odeya, a subordinate of the king Devaraya II.

When Saluva Tipparaja, brother-in-law of the king, was governing Chitradurga area, the king's chief accountant Singhana[88a] caused the erection of the temple of Kallinatha at Godabanu in 1429 A.D. in Chitradurga district.

Besides the construction of new temples, renovations were also done to the old temples which were in a dilapidated condition. A local administrator, Chaudayyanayaka[89] renovated the temple of Trimurti at Savadi in 1431 A.D. in Rona taluk of Dharwar district.

A palace officer of the king Devaraya II, erected a temple at Kallukere in Shimoga district and set up the God Hanumanta therein.[90] Besides, he made a grant of lands for the maintenance of the temple and also for worship of Bhairava, probably in the same temple.

Coki-jiya,[91] the mahaprabhu of Tonavali-nadu planted a (lamp) column for the service of God Tirumala in front of Gopalasvami temple at Belaturu in Bangalore district.

When Goruru town was in ruins, the mahajanas of the place made an appeal to Timmanadannayaka, who conceded monetary assistance from the palace for rehabilitation. In such a situation, Narasinganna,[92] the talavara of the place renovated the Vasudeva temple at Goruru.

Kallarasiyamma,[93] the wife of Samanta Aluru Bhima renovated the earlier temple of Siddha mallikarjuna, caused to be built two sikharas,

bhogamantapa and made plastering to the temple at Sampige in Tumkur district in 1470 A.D.

People who were in the service of the palace volunteered to erect adjuncts to the earlier temples. In such times, they sought the permission of their superior authority. Bomeyanayaka,[94] son of Maleya-nayaka, the maneya talavara of Mahasamantadhipati, Sovanna-Odeya, constructed a tower, by taking the permission of his master, upon the temple of Prasanna Keshava at Channarayapattana.

When a minister visited a place on some work, his officers renovated a temple of that place by enlarging it, probably to commemorate the arrival of his master. Mallarasa, the minister of Penugonda came to Gundapura in Kolar district for hunting. On that occasion, his adhikari Narayanadeva[95] erected kalasa, dipamala stone pillar to the temple which was in ruins and built a pond to it. In additional to this, Mallarasa bestowed rent-free lands to brahmanas and gaudas to provide offerings to the God. But this temple has now disappeared.

A local officer named Lakkanna-nayaka[96] constructed a yaga-sala in the famous ChannaKeshava temple complex at Belur for the God in 1484 A.D. Dr. M.H. Krishna has said that the officer belonged to the line of the famous minister of the king Devaraya II, Lakkannadannayaka,[97] but we do not find even the slightest reference to that effect.

Cikka Allappa-nayaka,[98] son of hulikara Laci-nayaka set up a lamp-column and a doorframe in the Laksmikanta temple at Devalapura in Mandya district. On this occasion, Mahamandaleshvara Narasingayyadeva maha-arasu, who was eulozised as ‘Katari Saluva’ Medinimisaraganda conferred on him the village, Devalapura.

A local officer by name adhikari Timmayya[99] constructed a stone mantapa for God Somayyadeva and a chariot for the festival of the Gods Somayyadeva and Ramacandra at Beliyuru (Belluru) which was complimented as Visnuvardhana-Caturvedimangala. This was done for the merit of his master Ramappa-rahuta of Mulavagilu.

A record of Halkuru[100] states that an officer erected a temple for God Somesvara with an enclosure wall. At this time, Nanjarajayya, probably a minister, made an appeal to the king Virapratapa Narasingaraya and the latter conceded a grant of the village Halkuru for the service of the God Someshvara.

Saranappa-setty,[101] whose elder brother was the house-hold manager of the king, constructed a temple dedicated to the Goddess Parvati in the temple complex of Agastyanatha at Tirumakudalanarasi-pura in Mysore district. On this occasion, he received a gift of land from Mahapradhana Saluva Govindaraja-Odeya.

If any part of the country was hit by famine, the local administrators added adjuncts to the temples to appease Gods. A record of 1509 A.D. of Bannimukkondlu in Bangalore district states that Vireshvara-Odeyar, son of mahanada-prabhu, Channaviranna-Odeyar distributed money in the time of a very severe famine that broke out in that area. In addition to this, he also planted a stone column, probably a lamp-column for the God Rameya-deva temple at Bannimukkondlu.[102]

During the rule of the MahamandaleshvaraKrishnadevaraya-Odeya, the Saluva chief of Nagire, Haiva, Tulu and Konkana, his officer Narasanna-atikari[103] caused to be erected a chaityalaya at Bastimakki in 1515 A.D. and consecrated the idol of Suparsvatirthankara therein. The basadi was renovated by another person, Bhairava Heggade in 1538 A.D.

Haridasaravuta,[104] son of Ramappa-ravuta, the durgadhipati of Toragale set up an utsava-mantapa, a lamp-column and a bali-pitha in front of the God Prasanna Madhava in 1518 A.D. at Belluru in Mandya district. This temple is now known as Venkatesvara temple.

A record of Siraguppi[105] in Dharwar district states that the temple of Hudeda Hanumappa was constructed by Ayirapila, the son-in-law of Tirumalappa an officer of Bagila Timmappa-nayaka. Wooden beams were used to build this temple and the record is engraved on one of the beams.

A local administrator of Mulabagilu, named Sidhanna-Odeya,[106] having taken permission from the king, granted a village for the service of God Hanumanta of that place and he consecrated the deities of Ramanatha, Sitaparameshvari and Laksmana, besides constructing a Gopura and mantapa. Previously, the Anjaneya temple was constructed during the time of Hariyappa-Odeya in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

A record of Haralakote[107] in Mysore district states that Jadeyurumadaliyar who was an officer (maganikara) under the pradhana Saluva Gavindaraja-Odeya, consecrated God Virabhadra in hattalakote or Haralakote. Saluva Govindaraja-Odeya was the famous minister of Krishnadevaraya and the brother of mahapradhana Timmarasa.[108]

Sarvarasaya,[109] the minster of the king Krishnadevaraya caused to be constructed a stone temple dedicated to God Someshvara at Halkuru in Kolar district in 1523 A.D. This was a charity of Malapanayaka-ayya who was described as the uliga of the king. An officer of this king, Benakarasa[110] erected a temple at Kurikuppe in Hospet taluk and consecrated God Virupaksha therein in 1523 A.D. He converted the

place into an agrahara and made several grants of lands in association with the mahajanas of the place for maintenance of the temple.

Basavappanayaka who was described as uliga of Krishnadeva-raya, was a local administrator of Belur. He excavated a pond, known as teppakola and erected a vasantamantapa for performance of teppotsava for the God Channakeshava of Belur.[111] This was done for the merit of his father. This mantapa and the pond are now in a ruined state and are situated to the north of the large tank, known as Visnusamudra.

A record of Gudipalli,[112] reveals that since there was no temple in the street of brahmanas of the agrahara of Gudipalli, a local officer by name Sovanna caused to be constructed a temple to the south of the God, Janardana and consecrated God, Ramacandra therein in 1525. A.D.

Mahalappa-senvova,[113] having purchased a land from a local officer built a temple for God Raghunatha at Gokarna-ksetra in 1526 A.D. He also purchased some more lands and made over for worship and offerings in the temples of Raghunathadeva, Mahabaladeva and Vinayakadeva in that Kshetra.

During the reign of the king Krishnadevaraya, Timmaraja[114] renovated garbhagrha, sukanasi and other parts of a temple at the instance of Avasarada Demarasayya for the merit of the king in 1527 A.D. It is not known where the renovated temple stands. An officer by name Virupanna-nayaka[115] made a grant of 14 varahas from custom dues for erecting a shrine, dedicated to the Goddess Laksmi and also for providing incense, light and offerings in the temple of Tapasiraya at Devarahalli in Mandya district in 1529 A.D.

A record of Ankavalli[116] in Shimoga district states that the Srikanthesvara temple was built by Harihara-maharaya and later, the temple had gone into ruins. Then, it was rebuilt by an officer of Achyutaraya named Tavanidhi Tippanna-gauda. He also accorded some grants to the temple. A servent and also an agent[117] (parupatyagara) of a local officer of Anemadagu in Kolar district made generous grants to the temple of Chennakeshavaraya of that place. The same person erected a mantapa to the temple.

Kondappa,[118] brother-in-law of Bhandarada Timmappayya, who was eulozised as daksinabujadanda of the king Achyutaraya, made a gift of land together with income from various taxes to the Virabhadra temple at Havinalu Virapura in Hospet taluk. Besides, he renovated the temple for this God.

An officer of the reigning king, named Avasarada Chandrasheka-rayya[119] caused to be built the temple of Demeshvara to the north of the famous temple of Hariharesvara at harihara. He built the temple in the name of his father-in-law Avasarada Devesvarayya with the permission of the king in 1533 A.D.

Under the order of the royal treasurer Timmappayya,[120] repairs to the temple of the God Tirumaladeva of Chikkere in Kudaluru-sthala in Bangalore district were carried out by hebbaruvas and gaudaprajes of the place. Kudaluru-sthala was praised as Rajendra-ceturvedimangala.

Erection of a swing, like the erection of a lamp-column to the already existing temple was considered to be an auspicious duty of the people during the period under study. A local officer named Timma Heggade[121] erected a swing for the Goddess Mahalaksmi at Adavalli in Chikamagalur district. Singaya,[122] son of Bayiranna, a military officer

(dalada-adhikari) of the king, consecrated a lamp-column in front of Anjaneya temple at Kotanahalli in Tumkur district in 1538 A.D.

Timmanayaka[123] made a new chariot for God Hanumantesvara of Vahnipur, the present Bannura and also set up the images of Umaskandeshvara and Vigneshvara. He was the son of Kannappanayaka, an agent for Varadappanna who was the minister of the king Achyutaraya-maharaya. In addition to this, he made a grant of land for the God for conducting a chariot festival. The donor's wife also took share in patronizing the God by granting a land.

A local chief Ramarasayya[124] constructed a temple for God Anjaneya known as Mukhyaprananatha at Guttiganuru in 1539 A.D. for the merit of Hiriya Tirumalarajayya-maha-arasu, who was the son of Salakayadeva-maha-arasu and also the brother-in-law of the king Achyutaraya. Ramarasayya also made a gift of lands for the service of the God.

Local administrators, at the event of joy, erected the temples. Bayakara-Ramappa, an administrators and vaggeyakara set up an agrahara at Timmalapura and erected a temple of gopalakrsna[125] in 1539 A.D. to celebrate the birth of his first son. The same person displayed his broad-mindedness by building the Shiva temples, namely Bhandaresvara[126] and Virabhadra[127] temples in the same place. His officer NamasShivaya built the temple of Mallikarjuna for his own merit[128] at this place.

Timmaraja,[129] probably an officer caused to be constructed a rangamantapa for holding dances, vocal and instrumental music concerts in the temple of Madhavadeva on the Pedda-angadi-vidhi at Vijayanagara (Hampi). He was the son of Vallabharaja and grandson of

MahamandaleshvaraMadaraja-Mallaraja. The construction of this mantapa was to provide the merit for his parents and grandparents. This temple is to the south of the so-called Zenana Enclosure in the Royal Centre at Hampi.

Military officers of the empire offered their contribution for the sacred work of the construction of temples. During the rule of the king Sadashivaraya, Dalavayi Jangamayya erected a Vaishnava temple[130] in krishnapuradapete near the Chatra of Hiriyakaluve at Hampi. This temple lies to the south of the famous Krsna temple near the Turtu Canal which is here described as Hiriyakaluve. There is a seven hundred columned structure whose ceiling has now disappeared. This is the Chatra of Hiriyakaluve. Though V. Filliozat[131] identified this temple as that of Tirumalesha, proper dedication of this Vaishnava temple is not clear in the concerned record. Close to this temple, the same person is said to have constructed a Shaiva temple[132] dedicated to God Virabhadra, now known by a popular name Uddana Virabhadra.

During the administration of Saluva Krishnadevaraya-Wodeya over Nagire, Haiva and Konkana rajya, his officer malanayaka,[133] son of Mallarasa-nayaka and Sonnakka got a new caityalaya built at Malavalli and Kaikini for enshrining the image of Pushpadantatirthankara in 1547 A.D. Besides this, he made a gift of lands for the worship of the God.

A record of Kampili[134] dated 1552 A.D. states that Sankarasa, the chief (yajamana) of Karibedu, son of a toll officer caused the construction of a stone shrine (of one ankanadakalmarige) in the temple of God Virupaksha at Kampili. There, he got consecrated the Goddess Hampadevaru. In addition to this, he made a gift of lands for the various service of the Goddess.

The rulers of the empire and their officers demonstrated religious catholicity by building several structures at one place, affiliated to both Vaishnava and Shaiva faiths. During the rule of the king Sadashivaraya, Ramarajayyadeva, the de fecto administrator of empire, commissioned his servant Padumappa[135] to construct a rangamantapa and shrines for God Narasimha and Goddess Parvati in the temple of Madukeshvara at banavasi in 1552 A.D.

Linganna-nayaka,[136] a local chief erected a temple for the consecration of Virupaksha-linga and a feeding house for providing food for the five brahmanas daily therein at Danivasapattana, the present Lingapura in Chikamagalur district in 1553 A.D. He also consecrated the God Basavesvara in that temple and made a grant of land for the worship and offerings to that deity.

During the rule of Ramanrupala, i.e., Aliya Ramaraya, Holeyagonda-gauda,[137] probably an officer, set up Kanuveya Rameshvara temple at Singanahalli in Hassan district in 1555 A.D. for the merit of his parents. He also made a gift of land for the maintenance of the temple.

Vengalappa-nayaka, probably a military officer and subordinate of Krishnarajappa caused to built mogasala (front hall)[138] in the fort of Mudgal in 1560 A.D. This structure is now called 'sculptural mantapa'. This has a large wooden gate of the fort called 'mulla-agasi' which has a series of iron thorns. An inscription[139] engraved on the wooden door states that this was done by Vengalappa-nayaka in the same year.

During the time of wars, particularly with the Sultans of Deccan, temples or some parts of them were destroyed. In such times, officers of the empire got them repaired. Such an instance could be seen at Kukanuru. A record of this place[140] dated 1561 A.D. states that the

gateway of the Mahamaya temple was collapsed during the disturbance of the Turkas who set fire to the capital and Devaraya-gauda, the desai of Kukanuru-sime got it reconstructed.

Virupaksha-nayaka,[141] an officer of Krsnappa-nayak, the chief of Belur, caused to be erected a temple dedicated to the God Rameshvara at Pura in Hassan district in September 1562 A.D. for the merit of his master. He also made a grant of income derived from Kanike, Kappa, jodi, bedige, customs etc., due for several villages nearby.

4.5 Common Class

Common people like mahajanas, individuals, artisans, even priests did not lag behind in the nation-wide constructional campaign. The contributions of the common people are equally great as other categories described above. When Mahamandaleshvara Virupanna-Wodeya was administering northern provinces in 1366 A.D. Madarasa installed God Bhairavadeva[142] in Basavanna temple at Chattanahalli in Dharwar district. During the reign of Bukka I, mahajanas and a hundred okkalus of Arasikere constructed Male Mallikarjuna temple at this place.[143] A person from Pattadakallu installed an image of Viresvara or Virabhadra in the vicinity of madhukesvara temple at Banavasi.[144] Sometimes, either several parts of a temple or a column of a mantapa were constructed by an individual or the cost of each column was borne by an individual. Such examples are available in large numbers. One of the columns of the rangamantapa of the Keshava temple at Bindiganavile in Mandya district was donated by notada Padarideva, son of Ramarasa of Leha, who was an examiner of coins in 1371 A.D.[145]

During the rule of Harihara II, residents of Nitigere in Shimoga district got the temple of Virabhadra constructed and the deity was

consecrated there in.[146] A certain Manikadevaru established an idol of Brahmadeva in a Jaina basadi at Kalakanduru in Coorg district in 1380 A.D.[147]

A hunter of the house of the king Harihara II constructed and consecrated the God, Orateya Mailaradeva at Hampi along with digging of a pond for the use of the temple.[148] This temple is situated near a gate known as betegararabagilu[149] (Hunter's gate) in the valley south-east of the Malyavanta Raghunatha temple.[150]

When Bommarasa-Odeya, the mahapradhana of the king Harihara II, was governing Barakuru-rajya, a certain Kumara Madavasvami set up a temple of Gopalakrishna and consecrated the deity there in at Barakuru[151] in 1380 A.D. Bhattara Bacaya, son of Kirtiraja and an influential person in the court of the king,[152] constructed a temple and installed the God Mallikarjuna[153] in 1381 A.D. at Anuvanahalli in Mandya district. The same person got the stone pedestals cut to one of the Shaiva temples on the Hemakuta hill at Hampi.[154]

Artisans of the period came forward to contribute their part in enriching the temple buildings. Kalkoja, son of Somaja,[155] a goldsmith of Telanuru erected a stone gateway in front of the temple of Goddess Mahakali of that place.

While Gundappa, the general of Harihara, was administrating Kodagu region, Bahubalideva,[156] a resident of Mullur town renovated the basadi of Chandranatha. This basadi was previously constructed by a Kongalva ruler. The king made liberal grants to this basadi through this general. A highly worn-out record[157] near Manjunatha temple at Kadari in South Canara district furnishes an information regarding the erection of this temple and a feeding house for brahmanas in 1390 A.D.

The citizens were actively taking part in pious acts of temple construction, consecration of idols etc., with their spouse. One of the king's officers, Marappa and his better-half Laksmi Bayi-avve[158] restored the temple of Malleshvara and set up God Nandikesvara in 1393 A.D. in Tayuru in Tumkur district. A record of Belur[159] states that an individual consecrated God Virabhadra in the temple complex of Channakeshava of this place in 1397 A.D.

Several artisans[160] worked together for the erection of the temple of Tirumalanatha at Dharmapuri in Bangalore district in 1401 A.D. Mahasamantadhipati Chikka Ankiya-nayaka[161] set up a dipamala column (lamp-column) in front of this Tirumalanatha temple.

A stone enclosure (suttalaya) was erected for the earlier Hoysala temple of Channakeshava at Dadaga for which money was received from the sale of a land granted by the wife of Pattangi Virapilla.[162] She was a native of this place. In the same temple complex, Goddess Laksmi[163] was installed for which money was received by selling lands of the same person.

During the rule of Devaraya I, Madarasa[164] installed a statue of Kumara Ramanatha at Chengur in Dharwar district. The ancestors of Madarasa held a high position in the court of Kampilaraya, whose son was Kumara Rama. Depiction of the portrait sculpture was not uncommon during this period. However, worshipping of a portrait sculpture appears very strange. The famous portrait sculptures of Krishnadevaraya and his two wives, etc., were meant for display, whereas that of Kumara Ramanatha was used for worship.

A record of Hampi[165] states that Nageyanayaka constructed a Shiva temple in the temple complex of Narasimha on the river-line of

Tungabhadra at the same place in 1406 A.D. Four years later, the same person[166] erected a mantapa for the God Gopinatha and Goddess Mahalaksmi in the same temple complex.

When Shankara-Kshitipala, the king's minister, was governing Tulu country, Parannayya,[167] a devotee of Vidyananda, a Jaina guru constructed a basti for Parshvanatha with a Gopura, mantapa and prakara at kaikni. During the rule of the king (Devaraya I) Tirumalanathayya,[168] son of Kanjayappa, installed an image of Garuda, called Abhanga-Garudanarayana-perumal at Adaguru in Hassan district.

There is a lamp-clumn on the southern slope of the Hemakuta hill near the two storeyed gateway, south of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi. It was planted in 1428 A.D. by Shasidhara,[169] son of Madhava-amatya, who was probably the famous Madhava-mantri ruling the kingdom of Chandragutti, Agara, Konkana under Bukka I and Harihara I.

An inscription of Hudali[170] states that Somoja, son of Bommaja, a blacksmith set up a column for the God Tirumala in the temple of Anjaneya of this place. A record of 1434 A.D.[171] reports that a padasala or front hall was constructed in front of Someshvara temple at Sindhuvalli in Mysore district.

There is a large image of Hanuman, carved out of a boulder housed in a temple near the Malyavanta Raghunatha temple at Kamalapura on the Hospet-Kampili road. This is known as Kalasapura Anjaneya temple which was built by Saluva Sankaradeva in 1434 A.D. or a little earlier.[172] A worn-out record[173] found at Anegondi furnishes an information about the construction of a temple for Bhairavadeva in 1437 A.D.

A devotee of the God Virupaksha of Hampi, namely Devayya of Hulige[174] set up a mantapa at a bathing-ghat to the north-west of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi in 1439 A.D. There is a dilapidated temple near the above mantapa. This was constructed by Haridasaravuta in 1445 A.D.[175] His parents and relatives died on the bank of the river Tungabhadra in Bhaskaraksetra with the intension of acquiring merit. He also consecrated God Ramalinga in the temple and a lamp-column in front of the temple in the memory of the deceased persons.

During the rule of the king Mallikarjuna, Padumajaya of Hega[176] caused the construction of Kallinatha temple at Thanya in North Kanara district in 1453 A.D. and he also made gifts for the expenses of food offering to the temple.

A few records of Siddeshvara temple of Subarayanakoppalu built in 1460 A.D. in Mandya district furnish some interesting information. Each pillar of the rangamntapa of this temple was erected at the cost met by individuals. The south-east column of the rangamantapa of this temple was erected by Bittetamma,[177] the north-west column by Naganna and Goridevi,[178] the nure (dadi) of Javanikenarayana Balapadannayaka, son of mahapradhana Baicaya-dannayaka, the north-east pillar by Ecahadeva,[179] son of Bhimadeva and the south-east pillar by Sateya-nayaka,[180] son of Makya-nayaka of Honuga.

A record of Malavalli[180] presents an information about the renovation of Arkanatha temple of that place.Appayya, Nagappa and other mahajanas renovated the temple after demolishing the garbhagrha, sukanivasa (sukanasi), sikhara, mantapa and ceiling. They also bestowed some villages for the maintenance of the temple.

Mahanayakacarya Dummi Virupanayaka[181] caused to be built the Rangamantapa of the temple of Tiruvengalanatha at Horakere-devapura in Chitradurga district in 1465 A.D. This temple is now called Ranganatha temple.

During the rule of Bhairanna-nayaka, son of Maduvanna-nayaka of Horaguppa, Hebbayalu-nadu, who was eulogized as Malayahuliyamar-tanda, some prominent persons[182] of Yaduvani in Shimoga district got a chaityalaya built at that place and consecreated Parshvanatha Tirthankara there in 1473 A.D. He rendered a grant of land for the worship of Parshvanatha and Neminathasvami of this chaityalaya.

A record of Somanahalli[183] furnishes an information about the construction of a mantapa in the temple of Virabhadra near the Nanjundeshvara temple at Nanjanagudu. This mantapa was to be used for feeding Shaiva disciples, brahmanas, and jangamas of Nanjanagudu and Terakanambi.

Tontada Siddhalinga was a great Virashaiva saint and author who lived in 1480 A.D.[184] One of his disciple,s Channavirappa Wodeya[185] of Danivasa constructed a matha at Edeyur in Tumkur district.

A copper-plate record[186] of 1505 A.D. mentions a grant of some villages to a number of people on the occasion of the consecraton of God Laksminarayana on the bank of Tungabhadra River at Hampi.

During the reign of Viranarasimharaya of Tuluva dynasty, Sahavasi Honnarasa[187] repaired the temple of God Rameshvara of Hombli in Dharwar district and reconsecrated the deity. Achanayaka endowed a gift of a land in addition to the grants made by his father to this temple.

During the rule of the king Krishnadevaraya, Visvamurti Gururaya[188] got consecrated Vireshvara-Linga at Tadimalangi. This Linga no longer exists now. Gunihalli Tirumala[189] built Anjaneya temple and erected a garudagamba at Kunihalli in 1515 A.D.

Ranganatha-diksita,[190] the purohita (family-priest) of the king Krishnadevaraya, having received a village as sarvamanya, built temples to enshrine Gods Nagesvara and Nagendrasayana in 1516 A.D. at Nagenahalli in Hospet Taluk. Apart from this construction, he built a tank called Nagambikasamudra after the name of the mother of the king. The Nagendrasayana temple is now popular by the name of Ranganatha temple.[191]

A record of 1520 A.D. mentions the name of a sculptor who set up a column in front of the Channakesvara temple at Kerakodu in Mandya district. He was Hollida Holliga, son of Holligonda described as caladankara.[192]

A certain Tirukanayya, his sons and grandsons[193] established the God Tiruvengalanatha in the village Tagarti-agrahara in Shimoga district in 1523 A.D. He also made a gift of land and money for the service of the God.

Ladies also came forward to set up temples with the help of their family members and others. A certain Gopayi,[149] her brother and others constructed a temple at Hosamaledurga, the present Ramagadha in memory of their chief Ramanatha-Odeya. Ramanatha is said to be the son of Kampilaraya and his queen, Hariharadevi.

A record of Chikamagalur district[195] gives an information recording the erection of Virupakshasala in the temple of Virabhadra at Balehonnur in 1531 A.D.

Namashivaya[196] built a temple for the consecration of the Linga, brought from Kashi at Hesaraghatta in Bangalore district. He also set up the images of Chandramaulishvara, Vighnishvara and Nandikeshvara in 1553 A.D. This place is described as Tippasamudra-agrahara.

Sometimes, all the members of a family made a concerted effort for the erection of a temple. Such an example is reported from Madderi in Kolar district. Ankappanayaka[197] and his family members constructed a temple for the consecration of God Gopalakrishna at Maddari in Avani-nadu of Muluvagilu-rajya. A record of Mailandanahalli[198] in the same district registers the construction of a mantapa to enshrine God Vinayaka by Sonyappa during the reign of the king (Acyuta).

A Telugu record of Nallapura near Hampi[199] reports the consecration of God Hanumantaraya in Nallapura by Nallappanna in 1542 A.D. This was done for the merit of the king Achyutaraya.

When Mahamandaleshvara Krishnadevarasa-wodeya was governing Nagire-rajya, several people[200] volunteered to construct nandi-mantapa of Murdesyara temple at Murdesvara in North Canara district. Seven jananis of Vayivani-nadu, Nula-nayaka of Kotturu, etc. joined this pious work of the construction.

A record of Anjanagiri[201] in Coorg district gives an interesting information regarding rebuilding of a basadi during this time. In the saka year 1453 (A.D. 1531), two images of Santinatha and Anantaswami were found in the Suvarnavati river. Then, they were brought over to

Anjanagiri and consecrated in Shantinathabasadi built in wood. This was built again in stone in 1544 A.D.

People of priestly class who engaged themselves in religious functions of the temples caused to build temples. Such an instance could be seen in a record of Vidyaranyapura,[202] dated 1547 A.D. During the time of Narasimha Bharati-Odeyar of Shringeri matha, purohita Narasimhabhatta, son of Lingabhatta constructed a temple and consecrated the God Vigneswara in that place. Besides, he made some grants for the worship of the God. A record of Anantapura[203] in Bellary district reports the renovation of a dilapidated temple by Harapanna during the time of the king Sadashivaraya.

A record[204] of Yadaladaka, dated 1556 A.D. furnishes an information about he consecration of four Gods, namely, Narasimha, Ishvara, Hanumanta and Goddess Laksmi in the year 1518 A.D. They were established by Guduganduke Cikkegonda, Malligonda, sons of Maragonda for the merit of their family. Another record[205] of Hampi found in Ganagitti Jinalaya, dated 1557 A.D. states that Mahamandaleshvara Srirangaraja Ramarajayya granted to Shantinathaswami of Cikkadevara basadi the income from shops (angadi). This also gives a detailed information of a shop (malige) built for the basadi by Cikka Viranarasanna.

Narasimha-bhatta,[206] son of Ellama-Bhatta consecrated the God Siddhi-Vinayaka and constructed a stone temple for several types of worships and offerings to the God at Kannamedi which is described as Harihararaya-samudra in 1558 A.D. in Tumkur district. At the time of the consecration, a number of persons made grants of lands and money to the God.

Catani Tirumalaraya, son of Tirumalayagaru, the sthanika (a temple manager) constructed a temple for Modala Alvar near Vitthala temple at Hampi, besides making grants for the maintenance of the temple.[206a]

From the above survey, it is clear that the construction of temple was not the right of any individual of a group of people in the society. People of all the classes like the king and servants, the rich and poor, the merchants and artisans, and the priests contributed their share to the main stream of the constructional campaign. Thereby, a large number of temples came to be set up throughout Karnataka during the period under study.[207]

4.6 Motivation for the Construction

The temples were erected largely to earn blessings of the God or to acquire merit for oneself or for their eleders.[208] Lamp-columns or temples were erected to cherish the memory of their preceptors or teachers.[209] Sometimes temples were erected as an act of expiation or to overcome sin.[210] Temples were rebuilt or renovated by lower officers in order to fulfil the desire of their masters.[211] There are several factors which induced the people to erect the temples. For example when an agrahara was established, a temple was to be set up there in.[212] When a ruler was in a danger of external attacks, he vowed to renovate or build a temple if he overcame such a danger.[213] To secure the affection of the reigning king, people were constructing temples and were excavating tanks.[214] If there was no temple in the street of brahmanas, in such a situation temples were to be erected.[215]

Kings, feudatories and the other royal members constructed temples largely as means to exhibit their grandeur and majesty. Most of

the magnificent temples owe their construction to them. When the king was coronated, this event was well remembered by the erection of a temple or a part of it.[216] When a king achieved a victory over his powerful enemy, this event was also perpetuated by setting up a temple.[217] Powerful viceroys and generals also built temples to display their majesty and splendour.[218] These are various factors and promoted the rulers and the people alike to construct and patronize temples.

A peaceful situation was conducive for the construction of the temples. During the time of Harihara II, Devaraya II and Krishnadevaraya there was a general peace throughout the country. Thereby, one can notice the construction of a large number of temples during the period of these rulers.

REFERENCES

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2. ibid., p. 227.
3. See the list of the Vijayanagara temples given in the appendix-B.
4. Vasundhara, F., Vijayanagara Samrajya Sthapane (Kannada), Bangalore, 1980, p. 75.
5. EC., XII, Si., 100.
6. EC., XI, Cd., 2. Bemmattanakallu is now known as Chitradurga.
7. ARSIE., 1901, 131; SII., VII, 322.
8. EC., VI, Kp., 19.
9. APGAS, No. 96.
10. EC., X, Gd., 68.
11. ARSIE., 1934-35, 350; SII., XXIII, 501. Bukkavve set up this column for the merit of her preceptor Bhaskaradevayya.
12. EC., X, Gd., 59.
13. EC., XI., Cd., 14. Mallanna-Odeya made this charity thinking that this mother might attain the world of merit. He made a grant of a village for th;e service of the God.
14. EC., II (II ed.); ibid., (1973), 467.
15. ARIE., 1889, SII., I, 153.
16. Michell, George, Vijayanagara, Architectural Inventory of Urban Core, Mysore, 1990 pp. 146-148.
17. Sewell, Robert., A Forgotten Empire, New Delhi, 1987 (rpt), p. 90.
18. ARSIE., 1904, 24; SII., IX, 453. This temple is important from several points of view which will be dealt with in sequel.
19. ASMAR., 1923, no. 44. These were perhaps done by Vijayaraya, the younger brother of Devaraya II.
20. EC., VII (1984), Hn., 168; ibid., V, Hn. 117. Here, the Praudhadeva-maharaja may be king Mallikarjuana.

21. EI., I, p. 361; ARIE., 1889, 29.
22. Krishna Sastri, ARASI., 1908-09, p. 174. Sewel, Robert., op.cit., p.158. Both the scholars have raised their doubt regarding the real date of the construction of the maharangamantapa and Gopura of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi.
23. ARSIE., 1889, 25; SII., VI, 254.
24. ARSIE., 1922, 711, 712, 713; SII., IX 502.
25. EI., I, 1892; SII., IV, 254; ARSIE., 1889, 34. Here the inscription mentions that the officiating priest of the consecration ceremony of the icon was Aryabhatta. He was perhaps the palace-priest.
26. ARSIE., 1904, 16; SII., IX Pt. ii, 564. Hiriya Timmaraja-Odeya was the son of Salakaraja-Odeya and borhter of Varadambika, t he queen consort of the king Acyuta.
27. ARSIE., 1958-59, No. 678.
28. EC., V, Ak., 159.
29. ARIE., 1958-59, 613.
30. EC., IV (1975), Y1., 155; IV (I edn.), Y1., 64.
31. EC., IV (1975), Y1., 50; XIV (I edn.), Y1., 171.
32. EC., V, B1., 52; IX (1990), B1., 3; ARSIE., 1901-02, 58. Now these pillars are removed.
33. EC., V, B1., 63; IX (1990), B1., 12.
34. ARSIE., 1889, 17; SII., I, 152. This temple is also known as Ganagitti jinalaya and is situated to the east of the Royal Centre at Hampi. There are several Jaina temples near the 'Monday Gate' or Somuvaradabagilu at the same place. Though the inscriptional evidences are not available, they are assigned to this period stylistically.
35. ARIE., 1975-76, 106. This temple has now disappeared.
36. EC., VII, Sk., 241.
37. ARSIE., 1901-02, 53-55; EC., V, 3; IX(1990) B1. 144.
38. EC., V, B1., 51; IX (1990) B1., 20.

38a. This lamp-stand wasmade by Kaloja and Anakoja, sons of Marle Nindoja, the brazier (kancugara) of the place. This lamp-stand is still in use.

39. Rama Sharma, The History of the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol I, Bombay, 1978, p. 42.

40. EC., X., Mb., 29.

41. ASMAR., 1923, 48.

42. EC., X, Mb., 10.

43. EC., VII (1979(, M1., 71.

44. EC., V, B1., 14; IX (1990) B1., 90. Baica-dandesa was appointed to the ministership during the time of Harihara II.

45. Krishna Sastri, op. cit., p. 167.

46. EC., X; XVII, Mr. 3.

47. EC., X, Mb., 963 and Mb.2.

48. ARIE., 1938-39, B.K., 82; SII., XX, 234.

49. EC., VI (1977), p. 179; II, Sr., 89.

50. Vasantha, R., The Narayanasvami Temple At Melukote, Mysore, 1991, p.65. The author thinks that Rangambika constructed a rangamantapa but nowhere in the inscription it is reported. The mantapa which she constructed is highly exquisite and ornate and it was probably meant to keep the silver palanquin which she offered to the temple.

51. EC., XII, Pg., 54, 55.

51a. EC., VIII, SG., 163.

52. ASMAR., 1937, 22; EC., IX (1990), B1., 93.

53. ASMAR., 1934, 16; EC., VI, Mg., 41.

54. ASMAR., 1889, 21; SII., IV, 250.

55. EC., X, Cd., 45.

55a. Filliozata, Pierre-sylvain & Vasundhara, Hampi-Vijayanagara, The Temple of Vitthala, New Delhi, 1988, No. IV, pp. 54-55.

56. ARIE., 1978-79, 172.

57. PRKRI., 1939-40, 80; K1., III, 17.

58. PRKRI., 1939-40, 80; K1., III, 17.

58a. ARSIE., 1889, 51; SII., IV, 280.

59. ASMAR., 1928, No. 86.

60. ASMAR., 1927, No. 48.

61. EC., X, K1., 73. This temple is renovated recently.

62. ASMAR., 1927, 49. Shyamasastri, the editor of Mysore Archaelogical Reports, tried to identify Sakkarepattana, where the inscription is found, as Hosapattana. Hosapattana cannot be Sakkarepattana and this place refers to the capital Vijayanagara (Hampi) itself. Vasundhara is also of the same opinion. (op. cit., p. 35) Since the matter is out of the preview of the present study, the discussion is not continued.

63. EC., IX, Ht., 141.

64. EC., IX, Bn., 16.

65. EC., IX, Ht., 141.

66. ARSIE., 1901, 28; SII., VII. 196. This caityalaya is known by other names such as Hosabasti, Savirakambadabasadi. It is really a magnificent structure and is a proportionately built shrine among all the Jaina monuments of South India. (As admission to this temple is restricted, I could not make a complete study of the temple).

67. ARSIE., 1901, 33; SII., VII, 202.

68. Krishna Sastri, op. cit., p. 167.

69. EC., IX (Bangalore Suppl.), 224.

69a. EC., XII, Si., 100.

70. ARSIE., 1901, 29; SII., VII, 197.

71. ARIE., 1976-77, 157.

71a. EC., VII (1979) Ng., 9; IV (I ed.), Ng., 4.

72. EC., XII, Tm., 3.

73. ARSIE., 1904, 63; SII., IX, 618; SII., XVII, 69.

74. EC., X, Sd., 99. Most part of this temple has now disappeared and only Nandi-mantapa with a large Nandi idol and a lamp column are surviving.
75. EC., X, Mb., 58.
76. ASMAR., 1929, 113; SII., XX, 230; ARSIE., 1935-36, 142.
76a. EC., IX, An., 49.
77. VPR.; 1984-87, 58. This is one of the earliest temples built at the capital. This is wrongly identified as a Jaina temple by Longhurst (Hampi Ruins, Delhi, 1982 (rpt), p. 118), and as Rama temple by Devakunjari (Hampi, 1983 (rpt.), p. 61).
78. ARIE., 1975-76, 99; VPR., 1983-84, 11.
78a. Shivarudraswamy, S.N., Arts Journal, LIV, University of Mysore, Mysore, 1992, pp. 197-202.
79. EC., XI, Hk., 127.
80. EC., XI, C1., 37.
81. Rama Sharma, op. cit., p. 31.
82. EC., X, Bg., 16. This is one of the earliest and most famous sacred structures of the Vijayanagara empire.
83. EC., X, Bg., 15.
84. EC., X, Sp., 54.
85. EC., X, Ct., 86.
86. EC., VII (1979) Ng., 58.
87. EC., IX, Kn., 59.
88. PRKRI., 1939-40, 43; K1., I, 43.
88a. EC., XI., Cd., 29.
89. ARSIE., 1927-28, Bk., 30.
90. EC., VII, Ci., 73.
91. EC., IX, Ht., 155.
92. EC., VIII (1984), Hn., 201.
93. EC., XII, Gb., 29.
94. EC., V, Cp., 153.

95. EC., X, Gd., 53.

96. EC., IX (1990), B1., 139; XV, B1., 13.

97. ASMAR., 1931, p. 28.

98. EC., VII (1979), Ng., 159; IV, Ng., 80.

99. EC., XVII, Mr., 147.

100. EC., X, Gd., 38

101. EC., V (1976), TN., 26.

102. EC., IX, Kn., 21. This record also states that at one stage the stone-cutter Pebboja saved ten persons from having skulls of their heads burnt off.

103. PRKRI., 1939-40, 72; KI., III, 9.

104. EC., VII (1979), Ng., 91.

105. ARIE., 1970-71, 30. Since the record is engraved on a wooden beam, it is a unique one. Use of wooden beam was not a rare matter. They are used invariably in the construction of towers of all the temples that could be seen in the existing examples.

106. EC., X, Mg., 3.

107. EC., VI (1975), Ch., 224; IV, Ch., 99. This temple is in a highly dilapidated condition and the record of this temple clearly mentions the duties and privileges of a priest of this temple.

108. Krishna Sastri., op. cit., p. 182. The father ofTimmarasa and Govindaraja-Odeya was Racayya who was, in one inscription, described as Rajarajayya (EC.,IV (1975), 82).

109. EC., X, Gd., 36.

110. ARSIE., 1922, 727; SII., IX, Pt., ii, 514.

111. ARSIE., 1901-12, 74; EC., IX (1990), B1.,159; V,B1., 78.

112. EC., X, Mb., 238.

113. ARSIE., 1947-48 3; KI., VI, 69.

114. EC., IV (1975), Ch., 100; IV, Ch. 7.

115. EC., VII (1979), Ng., 143; V Ng., 87. Virupannanayaka who constructed the temple of Goddess Laksmi was the treasurer of

this temple and was praised as Mahanayakacarya and Bayalahuli. This record furnishes a valuable information regarding the temple.

116. EC., VIII, Sb., 39.
117. EC., X, Sd., 104.
118. ARSIE., 1904, 51; SII., IX, Pt., ii, 553; SII., XVII, 53.
119. EC., IX, Dg., 46.
120. EC., IX, Cp., 155.
121. EC., VI, Kp., 8.
122. EC., XII, Tm., 7.
123. EC., V (1976), TN., 55; III (I edn,), TN., 120.
124. ARSIE., 1913, 202.
125. Ragacharya, V., Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, Vol I, Madras, 1919, No, 380A, p. 310. It is Bayakara Ramappa who composed 'Svaramelakalanidhi' and he was called Ramamatya.
126. Ibid., No. 380B, p. 310.
127. ARSIE., 1914, 464; SII., IX, Pt. ii, 682.
128. ARSIE., 1914, 468.
129. ARSIE., 1889, 119; SII., IV, 248; SII., VI, 143.
130. ARSIE., 1889, 35; SII., IV, 265.
131. Filliozat, op. cit., New Delhi, 1988, p. 11.
132. ARSIE., 1889, 36 & 37; SII., IV, 266.
133. PRKARI., 1939-40, 70; KI., III, 16
134. ARSIE., 1904, 27; SII., IX, 648; SII., XVII, 29. This record reveals a curious information that the priest of the temple of Virupaksha at Kampili should not consider the gift which was given to him, as an inheritable possession.
135. ARSIE., 1935-36, 120; SII., XX, 236.
136. EC., VI, Kp. 17
137. EC., XV, Ak., 245.
138. ARIE., 1957-58, 361.

139. ARIE., 1957-58, 361. This is only a wooden gate (on which the record is engraved) survived to this day in situ. This presents a proper picture regarding, the defence architecture of that period. Since this mater is not within the preview of the present study the discussion is not continued.
140. APGAS., IX, 7.
141. EC., VIII (1984), Hn., 122.
142. ARIE., 1958-59, 547; 1948-49, 33; KI., VI, 59.
143. ASMAR., 1928, No. 4.
144. ASMAR., 1929, 166; SII X, 229; ARSIE., 1935-36, 130.
145. EC., VII(1979) Ng., 48; ASMAR., 1939, 63.
146. EC., VII, Ci., 28.
147. EC., I (1972), 59.
148. VPR., 1984-87, No. 105, pp. 49-50.
149. Ibid., No. 103.
150. Michel, George, op.oit., p. 197.
151. ARSIE., 1901, 135; sii., vii, 325.
152. Vasundhara, op.cit., p. 35.
153. EC., VII (1979), Mu., 87; III, M1., 21.
154. VPR., 1983-84, No. 35, p. 41.
155. EC., IV (1975), Ch., 120; ASMAR., 1933, 40.
156. EC., I (1972), 75; I (1886), 39.
157. ARSIE., 1901, 27-a; SII., XIII, 190.
158. EC., XIIV, Si., 105.
159. EC., IX (1990), b1., 119; ASMAR., 1936, 10.
160. EC., IX, Dv., 39.
161. EC., IX, Dv., 39.
162. EC., VII (1979), Ng., 65; IV, Ng., 35.
163. EC., VII (1979), Ng., 66.
164. ARSIE., 1932-3, 173; EI., XXIII, 28; SII., VIII, 278.
165. VPR., 1984-87, 62, P. 40.

166. Ibid., 60, p. 39.

167. PRKRI., 1939-40, 41.

168. EC., IX (1990) B1., 466; V, B1., 181. This Garuda shrine is situated near the Vardhamana basadi at Adaguru.

169. VPR., 1984-87, 24, p. 32.

170. EC., X Gd., 7.

171. EC., V (1976), My., 199.

172. ARSIE., 1904, 21; SII., IX, 445.

173. ARSIE., 1958-59, 681.

174. VPR., 1984-87, 10, p. 30.

175. VPR., 1984-87, 3, p. 28.

176. ARSIE., 1970-71, 183.

177. EC., VII(1979), Ng., 46.

178. Ibid., 42.

179. Ibid, 43.

180. ibid, 44.

180a. EC., VII (1979), M1., 3; M1., 64.

181. ASMAR., 1939, 9

182. EC., VIII, Sa., 60.

183. EC., III (1974), Gu., 77.

184. Samagra Kannada Sahitya Caritre, Vol. 4, Pt. 2, 1988, Bangalore, p. 758.

185. EC., XVI, Kg., 49.

186. EC., X, Gd., 77.

187. ARIE., 1946-47, 219.

188. EC., V (1976), TN., 245.

189. EC., XII, Pg., 78.

190. ARSIE., 1922, 686; SII., IX, 504.

191. VPR., 1984-87, pp. 183-186.

192. EC., VII (1979), Md., 37; III, Md., 57.

193. EC., VII (Pt. ii), Sk., 54.

194. ARSIE., 1943-44, 70. Ramanatha was the famous hero of Kampilarajya. We have already seen that during the time of Devaraya I, the image of Kumara Rama was set up in Sangaru in for worship.

195. EC., VI, Kp., 4 & 6.

196. EC., IX, N1., 31; Bangalore suppl., Bn., 31.

197. ASMAR., 1923, 57.

198. ARSIE., 1929, 24.

199. VPR., 1984-87, 163, pp. 64-65.

200. PRKRI., 1939-40, 73; KI., III, 10.

201. EC., I (1973), 19.

202. EC., VI., Sg., 10.

203. ARSIE., 1922, 733; SII., IX, 623. This record unfolds an interesting and unique information regarding the ownership of the temple and the subsequent settlement of this dispute. Harapanna renovated a dilapidated temple (atisthanadagudi) at Anantapura which belonged to Penugonde-rajya. With the consent of Gaudas, senabovas and prajes of the place, he renovated the temple and set up the God Mallikarjuna therein. A little later, Timmadasi, son of Kammara Timmadasi claimed that the temple had been originally built by his father and he was the owner of this temple. After a thorough verification from the local people, the dispute was settled under the leadership of Srinivasaraya and accordingly a certain amount of money was paid to the claimant. Then, the temple was made available for the worship of the public.

204. EC., XII, Si. 26.

205. ARSIE., 1889, 119; SII., IV, 247.

206. EC., XII, Pg. 21.

206a. ARSIE., 1975-76, 98.

207. This surveyis based on the available records. Most of the temples do not have the foundation date. Such temples are in large number, and all the temples have been listed in appendix-B.

208. EC., XI., Cd., 14.

209. ARSIE., 1934-35, 350; SII., XXIII, 501.

210. EC., X., Sd., 99. At Irrugappanahalli in Kolar district, a Shiva temple was erected for this purpose.

211. ASMAR., 1929, No. 113. At Banavasi, a servant by name Aubhalanatha got the temple of Gopinatha renovated in order to fulfil the desire of his master.

212. EC., VII (1979), Ng., 58., ASMAR., 1940, No. 35. A local ruler set up a temple for God Mallikarjuna at Kelegere at the time of converting the village from sudravada into an agrahara.

213. EC., VI, Mg., 41; ASMAR., 1934, No. 16. When Bhairarasa, the governor of Kalasa-Karkala-rajya was about to face the attack of the emperor Krishnadevaraya, he sought the blessings of the God Kalasanatha to escape from this wrath. After becoming free from this danger he renovated the Kalasa temple. Such ideas were helpful for the renovation or construction of the temples.

214. ARSIE., 1922., 686; SII., IX, 504. Ranganatha-diksita, the royal priest set up temples and excavated a tank at Nagenahalli in Hospet taluk naming after the mother of the reigning king Krnadevaraya.

215. EC., X, Mb., 238. Since there was no temple in the street of brahmanas at Gudipalli, a temple was erected by a local authority.

216. El., I, 351; ARSIE., 1889, 20. The maharangamantapa of Virupaksha temple at Hamip was set up to commemorate the accession of Krnadevaraya.

217. ARSIE., 1889, 25; SII., IV, 254. King Krishnadevaraya attained a success over the Gajapatis of Orissa. Then, he constructed a

grand temple, known as Krishna temple at Hampi to celebrate his military success.

4.7 Temples in the City

Vijayanagara is a city of temples. There is a close relationship between religion and life of the people. The hectic temple building activity began during Vijayanagara times, the rulers of Vijayanagara were dedicated to the promotion of religion and religious institutions. The building of temples was mainly undertaken by kings, members of the royal family, feudatories, feudal lords, military chiefs, rich merchants and wealthy people etc., during the Vijayanagara period. The temple building activity was regarded as one of the great 'seven meritorious deeds'. The special worships and different festivals in temples were celebrated as religious practices in the society. It impact on social, religious, economic and cultural life was significant. The temple became the centre of architects, sculptors painters, smiths and carpenters, where they could exhibit their skill and also earn their bread. Temple was the place where singing, dance, drama and music were performed. The temple also served as a bank, an educational centre, a place of justice and provided place for important meetings. Temples provided boarding and lodging facilities to the ascetics, Brahmins, students, guests and pilgrims. As a result temple developed into a large socio-religious economic and cultural institution.

Temples s centres of religious and cultural integration attracted a massive inflow of different pilgrims and devotees from all over the empire and country, thereby promoting inter and intra-regional mobility, closer contacts and mutual understanding among the communities. Their glorious architectural and sculptural excellence also attracted the

visitors from far and near. Hence, temples were multi-facted multi-dimensional institutions, which fostered unity among people.

The Vijayanagara rulers took interest in constructing huge temples in their empire and the Capital City. From the Tamil Country they brought sculptors, architects, artisans and experts to their empire for building temples. So, especially at Hampi the temples like Virupaksha, Balakrishna, Vitthala, Hazara Rama, Achyuta and pattabhi Rama are big in their size and dimensions. The vastness of the temple area helped them to build sub-temples within the complex. Religious custom also favoured construction of temples. Realizing the religious importance kings, merchants, wealthy people and guilds made liberal donations and gifts to temples. Especially Kings at the time of some special occasions like, coronation, victory in battles, made grants to the existing temples and also sometimes constructed new ones. For example, Krishnadevaraya made several grants to Virupaksha temple at the time of his coronation, and he also built a new Gopura and beautified the temple by building a mantapa and repaired the old Gopura. To commemorate his victory over Orissa he constructed the Balakrishna temple and installed the idol of Balakrishna which he had brought as a war trophy for Udayagiri.[1] During the Vijayanagara period, a number of religious activities, ceremonies and festivals were celebrated by the people within the temple complex. Shaivism and Vaishnavism were dominant religions in the Vijayanagara empire. Both the Shiva and Vishnu were worshipped in different forms such as Virupaksha, Mallikarjuna, Pampapathi, Nagesvara while God Vishnu was worshipped in the forms of Vitthala, Krishna, Narasimha, Venkatwsvara, Tiruvengalanatha, Ananthasayana etc. As such the rulers of Vijayanagara constructed temples for all these Gods. This type of religious sentiment made the rulers to accommodate small shrines around the main garbhagriha in the temple premises. This type of

construction of small shrines can be seen in the temples of Virupaksha, Hazara Rama, Vitthala and others. So, this style of temple construction activity attracted both workers and devotees on a large scale. The artistic excellence attracted the people of other faiths also to visit temples and perform religious ceremonies. The temple was the focal point for all these activities.

4.8 Temples as a Religious Centre

Temples built by Vijayanagara rulers were dedicated to different cults like Shaiva, Vaishnava, Jaina and Islam. This exhibits their religious catholicity and it is greatly enabled them to maintain peace and tranquility in the City and empire as a whole. The religious rituals i.e., festivals, ceremonies, worship were conducted regularly in the Vijayanagara temples. People of different communities irrespective of their faith participated wholeheartedly in the religious activities. As a result of this festivals like Mahanavami, Dipavali, Vasantamahotsava, Holi, Swing Festival, Car Festival were celebrated with religious pomp and gaity.

The great temples in the Capital Vijayanagara were Virupaksha, Balakrishna, Tiruvengalanatha, Vitthala, Raghunatha, Hazara Rama and Pattabhi Rama. These sixteenth century temples celebrated Mahanavami festival i.e., annual ten days festival, during the month of September and October.[2] This festival Dasara also called Navaratri. The Portuguese travelers Peas and Nuniz gave a detailed description of the Mahanavami festival celebrated in the Capital with pomp and grandeur.

The festival celebrations were from the Throne Platform i.e., Mahanavami dibba. During the celebrations for nine days at contests; dancing and singing processions by the artists, and temple damsels;

were arranged. This was a grand and elaborate festival and the king presiding over the celebrations.

In temples worship of deities was arranged by appointing Brahmins as priests. They performed pujas like nitya, naimitya, and kamya. In performing pujas they were assisted by people of different communities and different professions. The Vijayanagara kings made endowments to temples encourage to religious activity and ensure the prosperity of the land. Krishnadevaraya after constructing the Balakrishna temple made liberal donations and lands to the Brahmins of Nelalahunise agrahara.[3] To guide the people in performing religious activities astrologers, reciters of puranas, time keepers, mantrapushpa reciters, and scholars used to stay in temple complexes. Kings made grants to the priests engaged in the conduct of such activities of the temple throughout the year. Drum beaters were there, especially from the lower community, who assisted at the time of puja ceremonies. For these people king made donations.

Thus, all these people like Brahmins, farmers, merchants community and people etc., participated in maintaining and developing rituals in the temple. This generally gave scope for the development of communal harmony, peace and tranquility in the society. In the Vijayanagara City, religious ceremonies were widely practiced in all the temple. The temples developed religious sentiments among the people.

4.9 Temple Administration

A number of Vijayanagara inscriptions speak about the temple income, expenditure and other things and also their role in socieity. Temples, irrespective of the status and position of the builders like kings, chieftains, merchant guilds, or wealthy individuals, were treated as the

community property and looked upon as one of the 'Sapta-Santanamula',[4] by the people in ancient and medieval times. The temple was a highly organized institution and received several of gifts to arrange for the performance of the regular services and different functions there. The administration of the temple was very efficient. In the temple there were many functionaries. Their number varied from temple to temple depending upon the size and necessity of the temple. In big temples there were administrative officials, ritual specialists and others to perform some additional and menial duties.

Inscriptions mention the appointment of the Sthanika or Sthanapati as the manager of trustee of the temple. There are references in epigraphs to such an officer from the Vitthala complex,[5] the Hazara Rama temple[6] and the Raghunatha temple near the Penugonda gate,[7] in the suburb of Kamalapura. Emperor Krishnadevaraya appointed two sthanikas in the Balakrishna temple.[8] Some inscriptions recording the grants made to the Virupaksha temple mention the Sthanika or Sthanikas,[9] and the Sthanadhipati.[10] It clearly shows that there were more than one trustee in the Virupaksha temple and the Sthanadhipati must have been the Head of the Board of Trustees. From these three records of grants to the Virupaksha temple, it is clear that the Sthanikas administered this big temple and also they manged the lands and property of the temple and received grants and gifts made to God Virupaksha, the main deity of the City. Except Sthanika, no other officer or ritualist of the Virupaksha or of any other Shaiva temple in the City is referred in inscriptions. Whereas some records from the Vaishnava temples refers to the Senabova or the Accounts Officer.[11] An epigraph from the Hazara Rama temple refers the existence the post of Karanika,[12] or accouantant. Nature of the duty of these two officers is given, but the differences between the duties of these two is not mentioned clearly. Sometimes large temples like: Vitthala and a treasury or bhandara which

was kept under the direct supervision of the official called bhandari.[13] Thus in the temples of the Vijayanagara City some officers were appointed for conducting festivals and monitoring the offerings to the temples Gods.

4.10 Temple as a Centre of Employment

The size, number and richness of the temples in the City speak of their importance and the role they played in every sphere of human life. The different activities of these temples covered all spheres of life of man in society. The temple required a number of people to attend to its numerous activities worship, meditation, education, banking, commerce, agriculture, performing arts etc. The employees of the temple, irrespective of caste or creed of different categories were generally referred to ad 'Pada-mula-parivara'.[14]

The temple was a major centre of employment for the people, next only to the state. However, the number of employees in a temple depended upon its size and resources. A large number of servants were maintained by the temples for various purposes. Some of the important staff of the temple like priests, reciters of mantras and sacred texts, decorators, players on musical instruments, cleaners, chouri bearers, etc., were in charge of the work in the interior and some were put in charge of the external work of the temple. They were torch-bearers, watchmen, bearers of vehicles, gardeners, garland makers, goldsmiths, tailors, carpenters, treasurers, sthanikas, etc.

A number of Brahmin were engaged in temple services, such as performing the pujas and chanting mantras (Slokas). For example, emperor Krishnadevaraya appointed thirty-seven Brahmins to perform a variety of duties in the Balakrishna temple.[15] These included the

acharyas or archakas or bhattacharyas, priests who conducted the worship in the inner shrine, pauranikas (reciters of Puranas), jyothishyas (Astrologers), a sadasya (or the superintending priest in the performance of rituals and sacrifices), a brahma (Chief priest for temple festivals), those appointed for VedaParayana (recitation of Vedas), for Mantra-Pushpa (offering flowers while reciting mantras), for Pavanabhisheka and for Namatreya. These different services have been referred to in one of the epigraphs of A.D. 1534 from the Tiruvengalanatha temple.[16] Further it adds to the list by referring to the appointment of Paricharikas (attendants who rendered assistance to the officiating priests) Brahmins for narrating Ithihasa (recitation of the epics) and Bhagavata, the Ghaliyara (the Watchman of the temple, who strikes hours and the Katigeya (a temple servant who also joins the processions of the diety)[17] Svayampakis (or cooks) who prepared food offerings for the deity or for distribution in the Ramanuja-Kutas[18] or temple Chattras. Some of the epigraphs give the list of wages of those who were involved in the menial services in the temple kitchen, such as grinding of wheat, pounding of rice etc.[19] A record from the Vitthala temple complex refers to those engaged for decorating the temple chariot and erecting and decorating the pendals on festive occasions.[20] Perhaps these labourer were not regular temple employees. Some inscription from this same temple also indicate the presence of temple-dancer[21] and some musicians.[22] An inscription from the Achyutaraya temple gives the list of employees who were discharging their duty in and outside the temple. There were the priests for performing abhisheka, mantrapushpa, pauranikas, for ithihasa, watchman, bhagavatas, katige persons and for svayampaka, senabova.[23] An epigraph from the Vitthala temple also refers to the nature of work in the temple, and the persons engaged in the temple services with their names like: Sthanikas of the temple were Demaya, Narasaya, Virapa, Chikavirapa and Purushottama. Senabova was there to look after the affairs of the temple, which is mentioned in the epigraph

by name Konapa. The other members of the temple like natuvaranga, svayampaka, ghaliyara etc., are mentioned in the inscription of the temple.[24]

Perhaps in large temples there must have been still other employees, such as those who carried the processional deities mounted on the Vahanas, light bearers, many others of whom, however, the contemporary sources are absent and no description is given.

4.11 Temples as Repository of Arts

Art and religion are inseparable. Religion was the base for all arts. Temples fostered and encouraged fine arts. The practice of offering worship to the God in the temple, as mention in several inscriptions of Vijayanagara consisted of both Angabhoga and Rangabhoga. Anga means the body and bhoga means service or enjoyment. Angabhoga therefore means every service rendered to the body of the deity like bath, smearing with sandal paste, burning incense, burning lamp, decoration with flower.[25] Rangabhoga means external service beside th body. External services like offering dhupa, dipa, naivedya, archana and theatrical enjoyment like singing, dance and drama performed on a ranga,[26] i.e., elevated floor in the centre of Sabhamantapa or navaranga, a hall in front of the sanctum sanctorium. Some inscriptions of the temple mention Srikarya,[27] which was nothing but angabhoga, and rangabhoga.

Being cultured and religious the rulers of Vijayanagara built many temples of different faiths in the Capital. Some of the large temples in the City like Virupaksha, Balakrishna, Achyuta, Vitthala, Hazara Rama, Pattabhi Rama, Raghunatha became centres of patronizing music, dance, drama, sculpture, architecture, painting and other arts. These big temples like the 'King's Court' has for rendering service there a band of

vocalists, and instrumentalists, beautiful dancers, dance masters, drummers, pipers, conch-blowers, choristers, male dancers, devadasis, actors, humourists, jesters, general speakers, debators, voice entertainers, gesture professionals, orators and poets etc. For exhibiting fine arts, the Vijayanagara temples were the common places. The temples served as a venue for the professionals to display their talents. As these temples were patronized by the rulers, natural the patronage and support was also extended to those who depended on it.

The bigger temples of Vijayanagara were usually elaborate. The typical Vijayanagara temple consisted of sanctum, pradakshinapatha antarala, an ardha-mantapa, navaranga or sabha mantapa with entrances on three sides, mukha-mantapa or front pillared hall, a kalyana-mantapa, parivara shrines or shrines for attendant deities and an enclosed prakara (Court yard) with entrances adorned by lofty Gopuras (gate ways). The entrance into the temple complex might be one or three in number. In addition to these parts of a temple, a balipitha, a flag staff and lamp- pillar were also found.[28] However, the Vijayanagara temples in the Tamil country had some more features of which some were added to the City temples of Vijayanagara. An epigraph of AD 1521 issued by an officer, Timmaraja, mentions that he built a "Utsava-mantapa" for keeping the images of deities in the Hazara Rama temple.[29] Originally this temple did not possess this additional Utsava-mantapa. Another epigraph from the Vitthala temple of A.D. 1554, of reign period of Sadashiva Maharaya record that Udaigiri Thimma rajayadeva Maha-arasu, for the merit of his father, built a "Uyyale-mantapa" in the temple complex.[30] Many mantaps were there at the Vitthala temple but this Uyyale-mantapa was newly added as one of the features borrowed and introduced from the Vijayanagara temples in Tamil country.

In most of the major Vijayanagara temples navaranga or sabhamantapas were constructed especially for the performance of music and dance. For instance, Krishnadevaraya built rangamantapa in the Virupaksha temple as mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1510.[31] One of the Telugu inscription of A.D. 1545 from the Madhava temple in the Capital records the construction of the rangamantapa for holding dance and for both vocal and instrumental music recitals in this temple.[32] The large pillared halls in the Vitthala, Tiruvengalanatha (Achyuta Raya) Malyavanta Raghunatha, Pattabhi Rama temples were built for dance and music performances within the temple complex.

4.12 Dance

In the temple ceremonies, public rituals, festivals, the elements of dance and music were essential. Dances were performed by dancing girls employed in the temple.[33] The main duty of a dancing girl was to dance and sing before the deities. For this purpose they were fully trained in the art of music and dance at the cost of the temple under its own expert musicians and dance masters.[34] Travellers who visited the Capital have left lengthy descriptions of the female dancers and their role in the temple services and processions,[35] and also in the City and court festivals. Domingo Paes, who visited the Court and palace of Krishnadevaraya describes in detail the hall were women of the royal household were taught dancing.[36] From the foreigner's accounts it appears that there were two groups of dancers, those attached to the temples; and those attached to royal court.

Temple dancers also participated in the Mahanavami festival ceremonies at the court. These dancing girls kept alive the art of dancing. On all morning of the Mahanavami festival they used to dance outside the house, when Krishnadevaraya was in the chapel of the House of

Victory.[37] They participated activity in all the car festivals.[38] On every Saturday they had to dance before the idols in the temples of the City, and in the afternoons during festivals they had to wrestle.[39]

Devadasis were the female servants in temples. Devadasis were young, charming, beautiful and accomplished women in singing, dancing and public relations.[40] They were attached to temples for specific purpose i.e., to perform dance and music in temples. They had high social status. Some of the temple dancers were honoured and conferred with certain privileges for their services. There were some royal dancing girls, Mangayi of Belgula, a lay disciple of Charukirtipandita Acharya, who was called 'Raya-Patra-Chudamani', a crest jewel of royal dancing girls.[41] Many devadasis gave donations for the upkeep of temples. An epigraph testifies that one of the devadasis constructed a Vasanta-mantapa and natakasala.[42] Devadasis with their great skill in arts enchanted the minds of devotees who gathered in temples, and their accompaniment added more glamour and colour to the religious processions of the deities in the city. They became a source of inspiration and inspired the mind of sculptors.

Courtesans are also referred to often in the context of temple and Royal Court in the City. There profession was not confined to prostitution alone. They were mainly taught to sing and dance from their childhood.[43] Some of the foreign travelers Paes and Nuniz were struck by the beauty of the dancing girls and dexterity of their movements. A courtesan had to be accomplished in various fields, and had to be a learned scholar, a skilful musician, a clever gambler and a brilliant conversationalist in order to win the men of wealth and distinction.[44] Most of the courtesans were attached to the royal court to please the king. And also they took active part in festivals especially during the Mahanavami. On some special occasions they were dancing in temples too. The difference

between courtesans and temple girls was that the former lived independently at the Capital and the latter were attached to temples and depended on its earning for their lively hood.[45]

The temple dancers were highly honoured by the king and were given grants. An epigraph of A.D. 1531 of Achyutadevaraya states that a temple dancer by name Kuppasani was given the title of 'Vidvatsabha-raya-Ranjakam' in the court of scholars.[46] Some Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam Inscriptions record that there were expert dancers in the Vijayanagara Capital City. Sometimes kings appointed and deputed some proficient dancers from the capital to the temples of other places. Achyutadevaraya sent a number of dancers from his capital to serve God Sri Venkateshvara at Tirupati. One among these dancers was Muddu-Kuppayi, the daughter of kuppasani in A.D. 1531.[47] Another inscription of A.D. 1540 states that Hanumasani, daughter of Uddida Timmayana was also sent by the king Achyutadevaraya to serve in the temple of Sri Venkatesha.[48] The dancing girls also gave enormous gifts for the public welfare.

4.13 Music

Since Vedic age music was regarded as on of the best entertainments which could please both man and God. It occupied an important place in the temple worship. Music is the expression of human emotions and it is part of human nature. From ancient time music came to be cultivated as a fine art. From very early times Karnataka appears to have been familiar with Bharatamuni's Natyasastra, the oldest treatise on the subject.

4.14 Temples as an Educational Centre

Religious institutions like temples, Agraharas and Mathas of Vijayanagara City played an important role and promoted the cause of

religion and also served as centres of religious activity and learning. Education in its beginning was religious. Religious establishments like Hindu temples of different faiths, mathas and agraharas became centres of education.

With the introduction of Jainism and Buddhism, monastic establishments evolved. This had its impact on Hindu religion and tradition was continued by the acharyas and the priests of the Hindu temples, and mathas.[49] Education was been given much importance from the ancient times. Education was patronized by the rulers, nobles, merchants and the people of all strata of the society.

Many factors such as ethical, social and religious contributed to the development of education in the medieval times. As Vijayanagara City was developed, large number of people belonging to different regions, communities and professions came and settled there. The king took great interest in providing education to the members of the royal family nobles, military servants, merchants, and other subjects. As it was in ancient Karnataka, even in medieval period temples were the centres of education.

The construction of large temple like Virupaksha, Vitthala, Balakrishna, Hazara Rama, Tiruvengalanatha, Pattabhi Rama and establishment of Agraharas and few Mathas bear evidence to the fact that education received great support and encouragement from the kings. Rayas like Devaraya II, Krishnadevaraya, Achyutadevaraya, made liberal donations and grants of lands to the acharyas and priests of temples and mathas for their services rendered to spread education.

During the reign of Vijayanagara kings education flourished. Innumerable instances clearly show the generosity and bounty of the

people in the matter of education. No wonder all temples and mathas of the city including Agraharas and other educational centres together with literary persons enjoyed the benefit of the general prosperity.

In the Capital City of Vijayanagara one could see temples almost in every street. Abdur Razzak observed that here and there were wonderfully carved temples and fanes to Hindu deities with Brahmanical colleges and schools attached to the more important amongst their number.[50] The teachers were generally of high moral character, religious minded and were well versed in all branches of knowledge. They were proficient in teaching philosophy, logic, Veda, Vedangas, grammar, poetry, drama, dance, music astronomy, mathematics and many other branches of learning and literature. The teachers were paid remuneration for their services in the form of lands houses, money etc. They were highly respected in the Vijayanagara society.[51]

The Vijayanagara Capital City was an important seat of learning. Vyasaraya was much honoured and respected by Krishnadevaraya. He became the chancellor of the Vijayanagara University as poet Somanatha says.[52] Many temples of the City were training centres of dance. And they also patronized music and other allied arts. For instance at Tiruvengalanatha temple there was a separate mantapa for dance and it was the natyasala or training school of that time. It shows how the Rays gave encouragement ot the development of dance and music.

In the City every large temple courtyard was provided with one or more pillared halls or mantapas, specially constructed and often very handsome buildings, in which during the great temple festivals, certain ceremonies connected with the idols enshrined in the temples were performed, such as annual marriage ceremony between the main God of the temple and his consort. Whereas other mantaps were used as places

of religious institutions, and the cloisters or pillared verandahs usually found abutting the outer walls of the courtyard, were for the use of priests and pilgrims who visited the temple.[53] Especially in the temples of Hazara Rama, Virupaksha, Malyavanta-Raghunatha, Tiruvengalanatha, Vitthala, and Pattabhi Rama this kind of large pillared halls can be seen, which were used for various purposes of imparting education and also for dance and music learning.

4.15 Temple as a Bank

In ancient and medieval periods of Karnataka temples and merchant guilds acted as banks giving loans to borrowers and receiving deposits from the public. During Vijayanagara period huge temples were built mainly with an intention to perform all religious ceremonies. Hence, there was a continues flow of income to temples. As huge amounts accumulated in the temples. The trustees of temples gradually decided to make use of that wealth for the public service. Hence, they invited the leading merchants of the town to utilize that amount and in turn asked them to pay a certain interest for it. Thus, for the merchantile community temples acted as banks.

The constant inflow of money enriched the temple treasury, which served the purposes of banking. Usually the interest rate was considerably high. Some of the inscriptions of Balakrishna temple and Vitthala temple mention of such banking activities. During the time of Achyutaraya, the interest per month was 5 ghattigadyana and 50 chakragadyana per month on an amount of 200 gadyanas. This amount of interest was sufficient to meet the expenditure of one ritual conducted in the name of a donor in the temple. This information is available in an inscription of Vitthala temple and dated A.D. 1536.[54]

Another epigraph of A.D. 1536 from the Vitthala temple explains that Varadappanayaka donated 10 ghattivaras to the temple treasury for the merit of king Achyutaraya. For this amount the interest of 11 chakragadyana and anas was utilized for the daily offerings of God Vitthala.

Thus, in the absence of banking system the idea of co-operation in finance was developed in the City. Prior to this merchant guilds played a dominant role in the financial matters. In this way temple also served as a centre of social service, thereby attracted people on a large scale.

Thus, compared to ancient Karnataka in medieval period temples attained greater significance as centres of education, fine arts, religion and banking. This is mainly because Vijayanagara empire was headed by great rulers for a long period. Prior to the battle of Talikote Vijayanagara city was well protected by the military and also supported by the strategic geographical features. This must have provided an opportunity to the rulers of Vijayanagara Empire to build huge temples in different parts of the City. Because of the natural protection puras were developed in a systematic manner. Thus, temples were the hearts of the puras and socio-cultural activities.

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CHAPTER - V
LIBERAL GRANTS BY THE VIJAYANAGARA RULERS

5.0 Grants by the Vijayanagara Rulers

An inscription dated A.D. 1510[1] state that Krishnadevaraya with a view to commemorate his coronation ceremony donated Singanayakana-halli to God Virupaksha for the service of amritapadi-naivedya on the day of his coronation. He also built the Maha-navarangamantapa and a small Gopura in front of the God Virupaksha. This is known as RayaGopura even today. He also got repaired the hiriya-Gopura i.e., large tower. In course of time, halls and other mantaps were added. Thus, Virupaksha temple emerged as a great centre of Shaivism. This attracted the people to settle around the temple. During the rule of Praudhadevaraya and Krishnadevaraya, because of its social significance, a large number of people came and settle in this pura. The Virupaksha temple was the centre of rituals and religious ceremonies. Conducting fairs and festivals was quite common in Hindu religion. Accordingly Devaraya II initiated the annual festival to God Virupaksha. The chariots made out of strong wood were taken out in the procession, generally in the main streets of the pura. At the time of car festival the idols of Virupaksha, Pampa and Ganesha were kept inside the chariots. So, this type of celebrations attracted not only the attention of people from nearby area but also from the distant regions. The Venetian merchant and the first European visitor to Vijayanagara capital city, Nicolo-dei-Conti refers to the two chariots on which the idols were carried through the city.[2]

14th century it was called as 'Pampa', 'Pampakshetra', 'Pampa-pura', 'Pampatirtha', 'Swami Pampasthala', 'Virupakshatirtha', 'Hampe' and 'Virupakshapura'. Even at the time of the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire Hampi was a small village. Initially the rulers did

not concentrate their attention on the extension of the temple. Despite this, temples were constructed in the different parts of the city. Even then it was a famous pilgrimage centre for Shaivas. Praudhadevaraya, the great Sangama ruler for the first time concentrated his attention on the development of Virupaksha temple and the surrounding area. Poet General Lakkanna Dandesha wrote in his work Shivatatva Chintamani that King Devaraya II built a huge enclosure wall to the temple, four gateways in the four cardinal directions by clearing the foreground of the temple, laid a wide car-street and got fruit bearing trees planted on either side of the Gopuras on the Hemakuta region. He also got lofty chariots made for Gods Virupaksha, Pampa and Ganesha.[3] His another General Proluganti Tippa built a Gopura to the temple of Virupaksha.[4] This is narrated in uttara Narasimha Puranam of Haribhatta. This is the largest of the Gopuras raised during the Vijayanagara kings at Hampi.

A mosque was constructed by Ahmed Khan, an officer under Devaraya II.[5] After his death he was buried near the mosque and his tomb can be seen even today. About his mosque and the tomb Domingo Paes also narrated in his accounts. He has identified it as the Moorish quarters.[6] After a careful observation of the City Abdur Razzak exclaims that "The city of Bijanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world".[7] It is true to the reality and not an exaggeration made by Abdur Razzak. Lakkanna Dandesha, who was a Minister and General of Devaraya II in his book Shivatatva Chintamani narrated the king's attitude towards the beautification of the City of Vijayanagara. Devaraya II constructed long and wide roads by leveling the ground. And also he erected gates at important public places.

An inscription dated A.D. 1450 records that Praudha Devaraya founded a village called Somalapura and constructed a temple called Saumya Someshwara, also a lamp pillar and Sandhya mantapa were erected. An inscription dated A.D. 1455 found at Nimbapura states that a village was donated to the Someshwara temple, situated near Kumaragiri Agrahara on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra.[8] This clearly shows that gradually the city was extended up to Nimbapura to the east of Vitthalapura.

During the period of Mallikarjuna, who succeeded Devaraya II only a small temple was built with a gateway in the south western section of the city. The later rulers of Sangama dynasty could not concentrate their attention on the expansion of the city because of political disturbances.

Under the Saluva kings, who ruled for a short period of two decades, the only development might have been the construction of the core of the great Vitthala temple.[9] Thus, at the end of the 15th century the boundaries of the Vijayanagara City were limited to Virupaksha temple to the east, Anegondi in the north, Malapanagudi in the west. At the centre of this City Hazara Rama temple was situated.

The reign of Krishnadevaraya is considered as the golden period in the history of Vijayanagara for the all round development and progress of the capital city. Though a follower of Vaishnava faith, Krishnadevaraya extended liberal patronage to Shaivism also. He donated the village Singanayakanahalli to God Virupaksha for the service of amritapadi naivedya on the day of his coronation. He also built the maharangamantapa and a Gopura in front of God Virupaksha.

These mantapas are simple structures with crudely fashioned columns. Some mantapas have two storeys, with double height columns

surmounted by parapets on street façade. A hoard of three hundred and fifty copper coins and another store of two hundred and eighteen gold coins called Rasipanams safely kept in a copper vessel covered by a bowl-like lid was discovered in the Virupaksha Bazar.[10] This gives an insight to the quantum of business transactions that want on in the Virupaksha Bazar.

The Virupaksha Bazar was also a market. In the beginning it was started to fulfill the needs of the temple. After Hampi became the capital city, many people belonging to various communities came and settled around the Bazar. On both sides of the Bazar lined Mantapas were built with temple as the centre, and this led to the development of a pura. The food stuffs and other daily requirements of the people were sold at this market to meet the demands of this pura. This is proved by the recovery of a hoard of gold and silver coins discovered in the vicinity of the Virupaksha Bazar. The colonnade Mantapas which are built opposite to each other on both sides of the street clearly indicate that these were the business complexes.

The Virupaksha Bazar was not only the centre of religious ceremonies and business activities it was also inhabited by sages and munis. Lakkanna Dandesha, the General and a Virashaiva poet refers the name of Gurumurthy Ondettinayya, a Virashaiva sage built a Mandira at Pampapathiyarathavidi and had arranged for a regular dasoha. He also mentions the name of other Virashaiva sages like, Dakshinamurthy Kriyashakthi, Tatiraya and Mahajnanagurumurthy Akasavasiyati and others who were all residing in this street.[11]

Kings, nobles, wealthy people, merchants by giving liberal grants supported and encouraged the Mathas. Many Mathas are seen even now in the Virupaksha Bazar. Of such Mathas noted ones are Shree Kashi

Karisiddeshvara Matha, Mavinatopina Saviradevara Matha, Kotturaswamy Matha, Bhusanuru Matha, Kallu Matha, Hanuvala Matha, Neelamma Matha, Huli Matha etc.,[12] Some Mathas are having two storeys. One of the Mathas on the right side of the Bazar has a Shivalinga made of mortar and in the Mantapas on the left side there are images of linga, nandi, yatis, door keepers at door, nandi opposite to one another and in the middle Shiva linga. These structures exhibit the same features that Lakkanna Dandesha has described in his work 'Shivatatva Chintamani'. These Mathas were also educational centres, where free food, clothing and shelter were provided to students. Even Kanakadasa in his 'Mohanatarangini' writes about this.[13] Mathas have played a prominent role in the activities of dasoha, spreading religion and imparting education.

Virupakshapura being the most ancient pura played an important role as a sacred centre in pre- Vijayanagara period and played a much greater role in the Vijayanagara period not only as a sacred religious centre but also as a business centre. During this period it attained an all round development. Thus, the Bazar of this pura became the centre of wealth and culture. In this pura there existed the largest number of temples. It is quite interesting that the fall of the empire or sack of the Capital City after the battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565 did not affect the fame and name of the place and the Virupaksha Chariot Festival of the pura is continued even today with the same popularity and regularity.

5.1 Krishnapura

This was the second pura established during the period of Krishnadevaraya. The area around the Krishna temple was known as Krishnapura. The Krishna temple was one of the main temple of Hampi. The Krishna temple is situated to the south of Virupaksha Bazar and on

the way to Kamalapura. This area is known as Krishnapura from A.D. 1513. The Balakrishna temple has great historical importance. An inscription of the year 1513[14] states that the great Tuluva ruler Krishnadevaraya consecrated the idol of Sri Balakrishna, which he had brought from Udayagiri as a war trophy after defeating the Gajapathi of Orissa in A.D. 1513. To commemorate his victory over Orissa, Krishnadevaraya built this temple. Then this township developed in course of time.

Krishnapura was the first Vaishnava pura, which was established at Hampi, and was the earliest of its kind founded during the period of Krishnadevaraya, as standing parallel to the Virupakshapura. The traditional limits of Krishnapura were Uddana-Veerabhadra temple on the right side and to the left it stretched upto the Virupksha Bazaar. According an inscription[15] the temple of Uddana-Veerabhadra was part of this locality and the deity was known as Mudu-Veeranna. The entire area to the south of the Hemakuta was an agricultural land with a canal in the front upto the times of Krishnadevaraya. Later he established a large Vishnu temple in the midst, converted this area into a temple town. Sri Balakrishna idol was installed in the mani-mantapa, or jeweled pavilion, located in the north-east corner of the courtyard of the temple on Friday the 16th February, AD 1515 by the ruler Krishnadevaraya.[16]

Krishnapura developed to its full size between AD 1513 and AD 1533, with a Brahmin settlement and Agrahara under the name Pratapadevarayapura, located at Hiriya-kaluve or Turthu-kaluve. As elsewhere with the Vijayanagara temples, there was a long car-street which served as a 'Bazar' also. During the period of Krishnadevaraya Krishna Bazar was established. In epigraphs Krishna Bazar is referred to by different names such as: 'Krishnapurada pete', 'Balakrishnadevara

Terubidi'[17] etc., Kanakadasa who came to the Capital City and described Krishnapura as 'Krishna Nagari' in his popular work 'Mohanatarangini'.[18]

At a short distance in front of the temple, on the other side of the present road, steps descend to the ceremonial chariot street, suggests that this was once lined with Mantapas, but today it is covered with banana gardens and sugarcane fields and partly conceal the ruined structures. Extending eastward from the temple, the street was as wide as that of the Virupaksha Bazar and not less than 570 meters long and 49.5 meters wide. Though the entire length on both sides of the street, the lined mantapas were built on a platform of 3 feet height. The mantapas are of two ankanas. Some mantapas have the space of more than two ankanas. Perhaps there Mantapas were the Mathas of Sri Vaishnavas. On the left side of the Bazar a tank is there. A small utsava-mantapa with Gopura stands in the middle of the tank. On the pillars of the Mantapas Sri-Vaishnava symbols, sculptures are engraved. One of the Mantapas on the right side of the street is large. The sculptures like Vishnu, Balakrishna, Lakshminarasimha, and figures of Alvars are identifiable on the front pillars of the Mantapa. This Mantapa resembles the Shaiva Matha of the Virupaksha Bazar. Alvars, being the followers of Sri-Vaishnavism, lived in these Mantapas. The idol of Sri Balakrishna was kept in the chariot and was dragged up to the end of Utsava Mantapa. But now this mantapa is ruined and its remains can be seen even today.

During the Vijayanagara period the Krishna Bazar was not only the centre of cultural and religious ceremonies but also an important market yard and a business centre. An inscription[19] clearly refers to the houses of Brahmins, shops in the street (Pete), grant of land for the maintenance of 'Sri Balakrishnadevaraterubidi'. Another inscription[20] of Achyutadevaraya of AD 1532 states that king Achyutadevaraya donated

800 gadyanas of pure gold varaha which was the collection from the shops of food grains of Krishnapura Pete on the day of Go-dvadashi to God Sri Balakrishnadeva. This inscription also states that this market had a cluster of shops which dealt more in food grains (davasada angadigalu), the shopkeeper's settlements located near the Pete. The road that linked Krishnapura with the metropolis was meaningfully called in the 16th century as Deveri-Vithi or 'Saviour's Street', for this was dotted with temples dedicated to Mudu Viranna, Ganesha, Mallikarjuna and Prasanna Virupaksha[21] (Under ground temple). In this market not only food grains were sold but also many other things.

Recent excavations by the Archaeological departments around Sri Balakrishna temple have brought to light many things like. Chinese porcelain bowls, decorated pot-sherds with Chinese letters, floral designs etc. Most of the things are in blue colour.[22] These findings clearly point out the Vijayanagara had trade and commercial contact with China in those days. Durate Barbosa writes that there was an infinite trade in the city. Pearls, seed pearls and precious stones were brought from Ormuz and Ceylon while silk brocades, scarlet clothes and corals were brought from China and Alexandria to Vijayanagara markets they were sold.[23] As capital city's important market yard, Krishna Bazar was yielding a lot of revenue to the government. One of the visitors to the city, Domingo Paes, states that the revenue of the Crisnapor (Krishanapura) was one hundred thousand pardaos of gold, and the same revenue was granted to the Sri Balakrishna temple.[24] Taxes were levied not only on the shops in the market but also on the loads of bullock-carts. An inscription[25] of king Sadashivaraya dated AD 1545 refers to the levy of a tax in the Krishnapura Pete as one Kasu on one load of bullock cart and on Mondays each shop of the market gave one Kasu. This clearly shows that Monday was the market day in Krishnapura. But however, shops were

opened regularly in small numbers. This is narrated by Domingo Paes in his accounts.[26]

Krishnapura with its Bazar played a key role in the prosperity of the Capital City. As it was the first Vaishnavapura established by Krishnadevaraya and as it also received encouragement from the later rulers it flourished as a prominent religious, economic and a cultural centre. Krishnapura Pete was once specially meant for the market of food grains.

5.2 Vitthalapura

Vitthalapura was the another Vaishnavapura of the Capital City. This Pura was built on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river. The central part of this Pura was Vitthala temple. It has been called Vijaya-Vitthala in most of the records. As it developed around Vitthala temple it is known as Vitthalapura. Several epigraphs bear evidence to this.[27] The street which ran from the east Gopura of the main temple to the west of Parankusa-mantapa is known as Vitthala Bazar. This also served as car-street and was called Vitthaladevara Teru-bidi, and also as Vitthalapura according to the inscription.[28] The length of the street was 945 meters with the width was 40 meters. Almost this eastern Bazar ran a kilometer long. The speciality of the Vitthala Bazar was that it was much wider and longer than the other Bazars of the Capital City.

Besides the main Vijaya-Vitthala temple, two more Vitthala temples were located in this area. The temple structure which faces the sought gate of the main temple was called Rama-Vitthala and another which stood at the end of the northern Bazar, or at the north-west corner of the main temple was called –"Brahma-Vitthala". These two temples formed the parts of Vijaya-Vitthala temple and Vitthalapura. The Vitthala

bazar was extended towards left side upto to the entrance of Brahma Vitthala temple. Here the length of the Bazar was 122 meters long and 16.3 meters wide. To the north, west and east of the Vijaya-Vitthala temple a short gallery extended northwards from the eastern Gopura of the main temple to the Brahma Vitthala temple, and the most impressive and excellent longer one row of galleries extends east wards to the end of Parankusa-mantapa, the terminal point of the Vitthala Bazar. Now, of these Mantapas, only some survive.

On left side of the Bazar, the Teppotsava pond with its own gallery and gateway was located between the Vijaya-Vitthala temple and the Parankusa-mantapa. The pillars of the Mantapa reveal the engraved Vaishnava sculptures. Recent excavations which were under taken in this Bazar have yielded of gold and silver coins, pots and other things. They suggest the brisk business and trade transactions of the Bazar.

More than 30 inscriptions are found in and around the Vitthala temple. But none of these refer to the original patron and construction date of the temple. The first inscription to be found now in the temple of Vitthala is dated A.D. 1513, it also does not refer to the foundation of the temple. Haribhatta, a poet in his Telugu poem Narasimha-Puranam praises Prolagnti Tippa, Minister of Praudhadevaraya for having constructed a bhoga-mantapa for Vitthalapati, among the other benefactions to temples in Vijayanagara.[29] This shows that Vitthala temple was already there in existence before the time of Devaraya II. An epigraph found in Sirali[30] mentions a donation made in presence of Lord Vitthala on the bank of Tungabhadra in A.D. 1406 at the very beginning of the reign of Devaraya II. This inscription undoubtedly refers to the temple of Vitthala in Vijayanagara. This indicates that the temple of Vitthala in the Capital City was already famous as a holy place and a great centre as early as A.D. 1406. But regarding this, inscriptions of the

temple are quite silent. Inscriptions found in the temple belong to A.D. 1500 and onwards, and not one is earlier to this period. Most of them refer to Krishnadevaraya. An epigraph[31] records that for the merit of his parents the king donated Hariharapura, Virupapura, Hosuru-magane, Goriya-Kelaginagadde, Gopisettihalli to the service of God Vitthala and that he also exempted ten taxes in these places on the day of solar eclipse is referred to one of his inscriptions in the Vitthala temple.

The Vijaya-Vitthala temple is located in a big courtyard with a garbhagriha, pradakshinapatha, sukhanasi, navaranga and maha mantaps on the left side; Goddess Lakshmi temple in the front; a Stone Chariot; and three pillared Mantapas like kalyana-mantapa, Bhoga-mantapa, and Nurukalu-mantapa (Hundred pillared mantapa). The temple has three Gopuras or gateways to the east, south and north. An epigraph[32] of AD 1513 states that these Gopuras were built by the Queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi of Krishnadevaraya, and also as they enriched the temple with generous donations. Inscriptions also state that the surrounding shrines within the temple complex housed different Gods like Adinarayana, Varada-yoga-narasimha, Lakshminarayana, Alvars etc. Totally, the Vijaya-Vitthala temple occupies the centre, though the open space at front was more than at the back. Many inscriptions dating from AD 1513 until A.D. 1554 refer to several additions made during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, Achyutadevaraya and Sadashivaraya. It is also clear that the temple of Vijaya-Vitthala was repeatedly renovated till the fall of the capital in AD 1565.

The pillars of the Mantapas are highly ornate, especially the eastern mantapa of the temple is called Dolotsava-mantapaand now popularly called the 'Hall of Musical Pillars'. These pillars have gained the universal reputation by their complex composition and for their

different musical notes. Some times it was called Uyyale-mantapa. This is the glorious mantapa of the temple.

An inscriptions[33] of the temple throw light on the celebrations of festivals like Gokulasthami, Mahanavami, Vijayadasami, Ugadi, Dipavali, Sri-Rama-navami, Makara-Sankranthi, Utitirunalu, Vamana-jayanti, Kode-tirunalu, Uyyale-tirunalu, Tepa-tirunalu, etc. in the Vitthala temple. During this period Vitthala's Utsava, Chariot procession, float festivals were conducted. How the different coloured sarees and clothes were used to decorate the Vitthala chariot is also referred to in an inscription.[34] The Vitthala chariot was drawn in the main street upto the Parankusa-mantapa. Different festivals were celebrated with great grandeur. The inscription further records that Vitthalapura emerged rapidly as the leading Vaishnavapura in the Vijayanagara City.

The pond which is on the left of the Vitthala Bazar was built for the rituals of float festivals of God and Goddesses, for ablutions, and to supply water to the Bazar area. The long built Mantapas along the street served as shops, rest houses, residential quarters and camping centres. Around the Bazar remains of settlements are seen, many shrines and Mathas stand outside the enclosure wall of the Vitthala temple. These mathas were Vaishnava Mathas and Vaishnava saints lived there. Among them the Ramanujakuta was bigger group. Prasada of the God Vitthala was distributed to the devotees there. The king Sadashivaraya made grants and one part income of the grants was given to the daily activities and for the distribution of prasada at Ramanuja-kuta.[35] In addition to dasoha, Vaishnava Mathas were also spreading religion and imparting education.

Vitthala Bazar was a market yard like other Bazars of the capital city. Many precious articles and goods from different places were sold

here. To the north-west of Vitthala Bazar, a stone bridge was constructed by Kampabhupa, brother of Harihara II, across the river Tungabhadra[36] to facilitate the Vitthala Bazaar to have direct connection with other areas in the north.

Temples had a Sri Bhandara (temple treasury), which served as a bank giving loans to merchants and others from the grants of money donated by kings, rich merchants, etc. and the interest thus collected was used for the temple maintenance. This helped the mercantile activities.[37] During the reign of Achyutadevaraya, Hiriya Malanayaka who was in the service of the king donated 200 ghatti varahas for daily offerings to God Vitthalaswami. The interest of this donation per month was ghattivaraha 5 and chakragadyana 50.

Thus, it is clear that temples played an important part in encouraging trade and commerce in the Puras. Merchants came forward to give enormous financial assistance and make grants for constructing temples, Mathas, and Mantapas. An inscription dated A.D. 1534[38] refers to the installation of the images of twelve Alvars and Tirukancinambiyalvar, by Gandha Tippisetti. The donor is referred to by the term 'gandha', which indicates that either he was a merchant of sandal wood or sandal paste.

Certainly, these things throw a welcome light on the relationship of merchants of the Bazar with temples. The Vitthala Bazar of Vitthalapura was not only economically prosperous but was also culturally advanced. Achyutaraya Pete built by Hiriya Tirumalaraja Wodeyar. To the west there was the Matanga hill, to the east lay the garden of Tiparaja, to the north there was Sitakonda on the banks of Tungabhadra and to the south there was tank called Bhupatikere.[39]

Achyutapura was unlike the other Puras of the Capital City was an exception and it was laid on the north-south axis and overlooking the river Tungabhadra. Whereas the other Puras extended from west to east. A ceremonial street lined with galleries ran northward from the Gopura in the outer enclosure. This street was neither broad nor as long as those that of Virupakshapura and Krishnapura. It ran eastward from the respective Gopuras. Mantapas on the east-side of the street still stand but those on the west have partly collapsed. On the left side of the Bazar rectangular stepped tank was built for Tiruvengalanatha's celebrating Teppotsava and to provide water to the people who were living in this pete. The Venkateshwara temple was at the end of the street and on the right side of the Bazar there was another temple referred to in one of the inscriptions as the temple of Hanumantha.[40] this temple also contained some Vaishnava sculptures. Further, the inscription mentions that rice and oil were given to the temple of Hanumantha for special Pujas on every Saturday as per the Kattale (rules) made by Tirumalaraja Wodeyar.

5.3 Varadadevi – Ammanapattana

Varadadeviammana Pattana, a suburban township was established to the south-east of Kamalapura. This Pattana was developed around the temple of Raghunatha, is one of the important temples of Vijayanagara. Locally, this temple is called Pattabhi-Rama temple. But epigraphs mention this temple as Raghunatha temple.[41] The Raghunatha temple was built during the period of Achyutadevaraya. This Pattana was built by king Achyutadevaraya in memory of his principal queen Varadadevi. In inscriptions it was also called 'Varadadevi – ammanavara - Pattana',[44] 'Varadarajammana Pattana',[43] and 'Varadaraji ammana Pattana'.[44]

The Raghunatha temple was built in late Vijayanagara style, grand and majestic in all respects. The temple has three Gopuras with a large courtyard on the left and on the right a big Kalyanamantapa with a row of Mantapas. Garbhagriha, sukhanasi, pradakshinapatha, navaranga, and mahamantapa are the other parts of the temple. In the sanctum sanctorium Rama, Lakshmana and Sita's pedestals are left, nothing more is known about the idols. The pillars of the temple are very nice with some sculptures probably like that of cowherd, and some pillars contain yalis. The Raghunatha temple has a long Bazar with pond or tank and a well laid out car street in the front.

Varadarajammana Pattana was also a commercial centre. In some epigraphs it is also referred as 'Varadarajammana Pete'.[45] It was a fairly big township with Raghunatha temple to the west and the Penugonda gate to the east. Inscriptions call this gate as 'Penugonda Bagilu' but the local people call it as 'Sannakkeppana Agase'. Outside the gateway there is a Veerabhadra temple. The eastern boundary of this Pattana was not only demarcated by a gate but also by Raghunatha temple. This suburb (Pattana) is also referred as 'Pete' in one of the inscriptions of AD 1534. It sates that the great king Achyutadevaraya performed a ritual of one lakh oblations in fire in Varadaraja-ammana Pete.[46]

On both sides of the street a row of Mantaps were built. The scattered ruins suggest that there was a big Bazar. To the south-east of the main Raghunatha temple, near Penugonda Bagilu there are three temples. One of the temple among the three is now popularly called Kallara-gudi, but it can be easily identified as a temple of Raghunatha and the adjoining gateway as Penugonda Gate.[47] Opposite to the Gate there is another temple, for whom it was built is not traceable. On the right side, adjoining to Penugonda Bagilu, Ganesha temple is built.

Ruined Ganesha's idol with mouse on the pedestal determines the shrine of Ganesha.

After the Penugonda Gateway the Veerabhadra temple is located and the local people call this as the temple of Sannakki Veerabhadra. Even to this day idol inside the temple is in good condition. On the temple walls sculptures made out of mortar are seen. To the north of Penugonda Bagilu there is another domed gateway which appears to have been one of the main entrances to the Capital City, while the Penugonda Bagilu was an entrance to the Varadarajammana Pete. On the inner side of the domed gateway is a small chamber containing the deity of Hanuman. Within a few yards another important late Vijayanagara temple is seen with a compound wall and a Gopura. Local people call this temple as 'Chikka-gudi' but archaeological records and literary works call it as 'Chinna-hundi' temple. There is an inscription celebrating the anandanidhi donation of king Achyutadevaraya.[48] Around this temple there is a heap of ruins.

Varadarajammana Pete was a busy market like other bazars of the capital. In this market different goods and articles, which were brought from distant places were sold. To look after the Varadarajammana Pattana, the Pattanaswami was appointed. He was referred to as 'Setti Pattanasvami' in the epigraphs.[49] He was looking after the affairs of the Pattana and had a facing the road and the smaller is situated to the west. Both tombs exhibit the Deccan style of Islamic architecture.

Another suburb of Vijayanagara times was Malapanagudi Sangama ruler Devaraya I established a settlement around Malapana-gudi in the beginnings of the 15th century, with a temple for God Mallikarjuna. During the rule of Tuluvas it was further developed. A strikingly octagonal well is seen on the outskirts of this suburb. An

inscription of AD 1412 of Devaraya I's period[50] refers to it as 'Malige-Kupa-arama', which means well-cum-rest house with a roof over it. This suburb was an important trading centre linking it with western coastal towns like Basrur, Barakur, Goa etc. This interesting well is situated at the cross road routes of Bisilahalli valley and the other one of the western valley. Very near to the well there is a monumental gateway. Perhaps through which the travelers were allowed to come in and go out, after being thoroughly checked by the customs authorities.

The present Anantasyanagudi village was originally called Sale Tirumalamaharaya-Pura or Sale Tirumalaraya-Pattana. This suburb was established by the emperor, Krishnadevaraya in the honour of his son, Tirumalaraya, and named it after him in the year A.D. 1524. He built here a temple for the God Anantapadmanabha. An epigraph of dated AD 1524 and inscribed on the walls of this temple refers to this suburb.[51] This inscription also states that emperor Krishnadevaraya granted a number of villages for upkeep of the temple and appointed priests for conducting worship. Facing north the temple is in colossal proportions and might have been originally a large temple complex with many minor shrines and Mantapas, of which only a few are seen. The temple has a massive sikhara of vaulted type.[52]

The present village Nagenahalli, to the north of Anantasayanagudi was originally called Nagaladevi-Pura or Nagalapura. This is another township or suburb named after his mother by emperor Krishnadevaraya. There an inscription in the precincts of temple Ranganatha states that emperor Krishnadevaraya donated this township to a Brahmin, Ranganatha Dikshita for the merit of his mother Nagaladevi, on Sunday, 9th of November, A.D. 1516.[53] Ranganatha Dikshita in turn constructed a tank and named it as Nagasamudra, and a Shaiva temple Nageshvara, and a Vishnu temple Nagendrasayana, and made some grants fro the

merit of the emperor's mother. Then this township was declared as 'Nagaladevi-Pura Agrahara', by including some more privileges and grants to the Brahmin community. Thus, this suburb enjoyed the status of an Agrahara under the emperor Krishnadevaraya.

During medieval times, the present town Hosapete, which is to the south-west of Vijayanagara City, was not a suburb but also an entrance gate to the imperial Capital City. Hosapete, the very name of the town indicates that it was a 'new market' or 'new bazar' which must have extended as a part of the Capital City and flourished as a suburb like Nagaladevi-Pura and Sale-Tirumalamaharaya-Pura. The distance between Hampi and Hosapete is not more than 12 Kms.

During the period of Krishnadevaraya this area was developed as a new suburb under the name Tirumaladevi-Pattana. This new township was developed around the present Sannaki-Veerabhadra temple, and was named after Tirumaladevi one of the queens of Krishnadevaraya. This is recorded in an inscription located in the temple.[54] Another inscription found at Valmiki-keri, near the Assistant Commissioner's office also gives the same information.[55] These two inscriptions also refer to the temples of Tiruvengalanatha and Sri Goureshvara, and the grants made to the temples built in the Tirumaladevi-Pattana. Particularly the inscription at Sannakki-Veerabhadra temple refers to some grants made by Kampadeva-arasa to the temple Sri Goureshvara. This shows that originally this temple must have been dedicated to God Sri-Gouresvara, a popular deity of the business community. Probably the area around Sannakki-Veerabhadra temple must have been the Bazar with the name 'Sannakki-Pete', and this present temple, originally the temple of Sri Gouresvara. In course of time, after the fall of Vijayanagara, perhaps the idol of Veerabhadra was consecrated in the temple. In fact it is very interesting to note that the above two inscriptions make reference to the

trading community 'Setti-Pattanada-Svamigalu' of Tirumaladevi-Pattana, Varadarajammana Pattana and Krishnapura, and these two inscriptions are found in Hosapete, a business area of Vijayanagara times.

An inscription of the sixteenth century refers to a part of Hosapete as "Chikkavadi".[56] In the initial days this area must have been called Chinnadevi-vada, Chikkadevi-vada, Chikka-vada, Chikkavadi, all conveying the same meaning. This suburb must have been founded and named after his another queen, Chinnadevi by Krishnadevaraya. It may be recalled here that by this time emperor Krishnadevaraya had already founded 'Nagaladevi-Pura' in the name of his mother; Sale Tirumalamaharaya Pura in the name of his son, who attained premature death as a minor without succeeding to the throne; and Tirumaladevi-ammana-Pattana named after one of his principal queens. The Portuguese traveler, Nuniz writes that "Krishnadevaraya had much affection on (Chinnadevi). This king built a city in honour of this woman".[57] Some inscription throw welcome light on the aspect that whenever the emperor Krishnadevaraya visited sacred centres he made grants and in the records he also mentioned the names of these two favourite queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi. He also got three statues of himself and his two queens made of metal in standing position with raised and folded hands and fixed in-front of the God Venkatesvara at Tirupati.

Hosapete was on the main road from Vijayanagara to the western coastal area or Narakuru-rajya and other important towns like: Basarur, Bhatkal, Malpe, Mangalore, Goa etc. These port towns had brisk trade with western countries. All these facts show that the present Hosapet must have been a great business centre in the days of Krishnadevaraya.

Tirumaladevi-Pattana, Nagaladevi-Pura, Sale-Tirumalamaharaya-Pura, and Chikkawadi together formed Hosapete meaning 'New Market Area' i.e., the modern Hosapete town. These four townships were founded by Krishnadevaraya and all these were within the radius of three kms from the centre of the present town of Hosapete. Even Paes writes that "the route from Hosapete (New Market Area) to Vijayanagara was a wide and busy street with a bazaar, man houses and trees".[58] Because of the rapid with the rights of this assembly. Remission of taxes or making gifts took place with its permission. There was a strong sense of oneness among its members. Its members were known as nagarattar.[59] The nagara-karanattar[60] and the nagara-madyastha[61] were among the officers of the nagara. The city unit was administered by a council whose members were known as Nagara swamulu or Pattana svamulu or Nagaresvara. The council would meet in the palace of the nagaresvara and the members were properly seated. The place of the meeting was known as the mukha-mantapa.[62] Invitations were issued to the representatives of puras to attend the meeting through a secret agent. Punishments were given to the members who did not turn up to the meeting. The chief of the assembly was known as Mahimasetti.

The Pattanasvami not only held charge of the collection of taxes in the city but also he had a voice in revenue administration.[63] The consent of the Pattanasvamis was taken while making land grants. Pattanasvami also made liberal gifts to temples and made other charities as revealed in epigraphs. An epigraph dated A.D. 1535, found near the Assistant Commissioner's Office, Hosapete, mentions that Abbaraja Timmapa, an agent of the Pradhana Tirumalaraya made a gift of the mulavisa (cess) with the consent of the Setti-Pattanasvamis of Tirumaladeviyara-pattana, Varadarajammana-pattana and Krishnapura, all these were different suburbs of the City of Vijayanagara.[64] In many records of the City, it is stated that pattanasvamis gifted the income of some shops for the

maintenance of temples and for the service of local Gods. For example, An inscription found near Kotisankaradevara Bagilu, records the donation of the income from a shop for lighting a lamp to God Mallikarjuna by Setti Pattanasvami.[65] Similarly another epigraph inscribed on a slab lying in the mantapa near the fort on the way from the royal centre to the Matanga hill, corresponding to date A.D. 1525, mentions the donation of income from a shop to the temple of Adinarayanadeva for its maintenance by the Pattanasavami.[66]

5.4 Functions of the Municipality

The Municipality was established to provide basic civic amenities like drinking water, good roads, sanitation, education, and security.

5.5 Water supply and Drainage System

In Vijayanagara City supply of drinking water was considered as the most important duty of the city administration. For the first time in medival Karnataka a vast city with many Puras and suburbs had emerged. It was not only the capital city but also a religious centre, a centre of trade and commerce, which attracted merchants from different parts of the empire and the world at large. As the city was densely populated a lot of care had been taken to construct tanks, wells and ponds. Several epigraphs and archaeological remains help us to know the work undertaken in this regard. For example, an inscription dated A.D. 1410 found near the Kadalekalu Ganesha temple states that providing drinking water to men and animals was considered as important social responsibility.[67]

Tanks, wells, ponds, dam and the river Tungabhadra were the main sources of water supply to Vijayanagara City. Hence, there was a systematic network of water supply scheme to the entire City. The river

Tungabhadra was perennial stream. Even during summer water was supplied to the tanks constructed in different parts of the City through pipelines. This is recently found in one of the extension colony of Hosapete.

5.6 Tanks

Tanks in and around Vijayanagara severed multi-purposes. The water stored in tanks, reservoirs was meant not only for agricultural requirements but also for other domestic purposes and religious functions. Hence, elaborately built beautiful temples on the banks of tanks or close by can be seen in the city. For instance, the tank which serves even today the Virupaksha temple is a notable one. The Balakrishna, the Vitthala, and the Tiruvengalanatha tanks were build all in the same way and in the first half of the 16th century A.D. There are numerous references to such tanks in the Vijayanagara City. A tank was constructed in the newly created Nagalapura and named it as Nagambika-Samudra to commemorate the memory of the king's mother Nagaladevi. This tank was built by the priest Ranganatha Dikshita in A.D. 1516 as recorded in an inscription found at Ranganatha temple in the present village of Nagenahalli.[68] Further, the state authorities showed much interest to supply water in and around the fast expanding capital city. King Krishnadevaraya constructed a big reservoir near the capital city to provide good water in the newly built city. In this regard the emperor was assisted by a certain Portuguese Joaodella Ponte, who was sent by the Governor of Goa. Even Nuniz refers to this tank.[69] Even today it is called 'Rayara-Kere', situated in the southwest part of the present town Hosapete.[70]

An inscription date A.D. 1534 found to the South of Achyutaraya temple states the existence of 'Bhupati-Kere'.[71] This tank is also referred

by the other inscriptions of a mantapa at Matanga-hill[72] and of Balakrishna temple.[73] The biggest tank of the Vijayanagara city is Kamalapura tank. This tank is referred to in an epigraph of the Pattabhi Rama temple.[74] Arrangements were made to serve the varied needs of the residents of the metropolitan city, particularly those who lived within the citadel area. There is enough evidence to show that there was a good network of open channels and sealed earthenware pipelines which distributed water to the palace and other buildings situated in this area. The same inscription of the temple refers to the tank of Anantapura.[75] Another inscription found at Malyavantahill refers the Krishnarayasa-mudra.[76] Yet another epigraph found Prasanna-Virupaksha refers to a Ramapura tank in Kaddirampura.[77] Another tank was constructed by Nala-Timmana-Boyi for the merit of Chikkaraya. It is referred in an inscription dated A.D. 1539 found at Sitarama Tanda to the east of Kamalapura.[78] Ramasagara tank and Bukkasagara tank though situated outside the city, the purpose of the tanks was to supply water to the city and its suburbs.

5.7 Wells

Wells were also dugout by individuals near temples, mosques and gateways. Two inscriptions dated A.D. 1377 and A.D. 1390 located towards the west of the Hemakuta mention that a devotee called Nagappa built a well.[79] In a similar way another well was constructed at the end of the Rathabidi of the Virupaksha temple. In inscription it is mentioned as Mahadevi-Akka-Bhavi.[80] There are another well called Benakana Bhavi near Ganesha statue built by an individual called Devaraya in A.D. 1411.[81] Similarly an inscription found at the mosque near the Singarada Hebbagilu mentins that Ahmed Khan built a well in A.D. 1439[82] for the merit of his King Devaraya II. So this clearly shows that individuals were kind to visitors who were coming to the city.

Similarly Pilikunchalaka, son of Kabiruravuta constructed a well.[83] A well called Aresankara Bhavi was constructed near Areshankakara Bagilu[84] and also near Udayagiri Bagilu in the Vijayanagara city. Two wells called Linga Bhavi and Ranganatha Bhavi were constructed near Betekarara Hebbagilu.[85] A woman constructed a well near Sarasvati temple.[86] So, the construction of wells near the gateways reminds one the wells constructed along the highways during the period of Asoka in ancient India. The construction of wells near the gateways were meant for the use of merchants as well as animals and for the benefit of travelers. Proceeding towards Hosapete from Vijayanagara city, an interesting well is seen on the outskirts of the suburb Malapanagudi. An inscription dated A.D. 1412 found at Mallikarjuna temple describes it as Malige-Kupa-arama i.e. well-cum-rest-house with a roof. This octagonal well was established here to serve the needs of travelers. This well was built by an individual called Heggade Sovanna-Anna.[87] Besides wells ponds also were built for the benefit of people and animals.

All these examples referred to above show that the individuals and the city administration considered providing water as their sole responsibility. For royal enclosures the kings made their own arrangements by constructing wells and tanks in their enclosures. They invited Portuguese hydraulic engineers from Goa.

The stepped tank constructed near Mahanavamidibba was the best example. There was the channel system to supply water to this tank from another tank. And also there was a provision to supply water to the Queen's Bath situated near Mahanavamidibba.

5.8 Troughs

In addition to wells, here were many toughs through which water was supplied. An epigraph inscribed on a water trough and kept now in a

mantapa of the Kamplimatha in the Virupaksha Bazar mentions that this was caused by Abaraju Timapa.[88] Near Kodanda-Rama temple, another stone water trough can be seen, on this it is stated that this was caused by Kattalebayya son of Tulubanavasi.[89] Another stone water trough is located in the northeast of Malyavanta hill i.e. on the right bank of Turthu Kaluve. This was built by a woman by name Obeyavve, for the service of God Raghunatha.[90]

5.9 Anicuts

The Vijayanagara City was substantially expanded during the time of Bukka II and Devaraya II. The urgent need was to arrange for the supply of potable water to the Capital City and its suburbs. In order to meet that need as well as other requirements king Bukka II arranged for the construction of an anicut across the river Tungabhadra about three kilometers to the north of Virupaksha temple of Hampi and also the right bank canal to carry water from this anicut, called 'Turthu Kaluve' or 'Turthu canal' and sometimes as Turthuanicut.[91] In many epigraphs Turthu Kaluve is mentioned as 'Hiriya Kaluve',[92] it runs through the ruined site of the Capital city. The course of the canal and its distributory channels, seen even now prove the efficient service from different parts of the empire for trading purpose.[93] Carts were used widely for transportation.

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(The idol of Balakrishna is now placed in the Government Museum, Chennai).

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CHAPTER – VI
RELIGION DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

6.0 Introduction

In no other country is religion so closely interwoven with the life of the people as in India. All the habits, usages, food, dress, social and political life is greatly influenced by religion. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the religious conditions of South India were intensely deplorable. Hinduism received a big threat from the Muslim invasions. Under such critical conditions to protect Hindus, Hinduism and to preserve the culture and the heritage of Hinduism the Vijayanagara Empire was established by the Sangama brothers at Vijayanagara. The rise of Vijayanagara Empire opened a new era in the sphere of religion and the construction of temples. The Rayas of Vijayangara were not only the champions in wars but also in the field of religion and culture. It was because of their deliberate policy of tolerance towards all faiths and sects, the Hinduism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity flourished in the empire. In the Capital City religions like Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Islam were patronized. The religious practices and beliefs of these faiths continued unhindered; besides there were some religious developments.

The Rayas of Vijayanagara continuously undertook the work of temple construction and there by were responsible for the emergence of huge temples, which were the core centres of various faiths. The emergence of different temples resulted in the creation of puras and suburbs, catered to the needs of the people and fulfilled the religious rituals and promoted the religious harmony in the capital city. They set an example to their successors to follow catholicity and tolerance in religious matters. It was because of the liberal and wholehearted donations, and the encouragement given to the practice of various

religions that led to the development of religious culture in the City of Vijayanagara. Foreign travelers like Abdur Razzak, Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz were surprised at the celebration of festivals on a grand scale. The Dasara festival, which was started originally by the Rayas of Vijayanagara, is still celebrated by the people of Karnataka with great pomp and splendour. Thus, the Vijayanagara rulers left a lasting impression in the minds of the people of Karnataka in particular and South India in general. The Shaiva, Vaishnava traditions, particularly of the Alvars, the Puratanas, had a deep impact on the life of the people. Besides, the Madhva sect that originated in Karnataka also had a considerable degree of influence on people in the City and empire. However, Sri Vaishnavism was highly dominant especially from the beginning of Krishnadevaraya's rule. The golden age of the Vijayanagara empire was an Age of the harmonious co-existence of the schools of advaita, vishishtadvaita and dvaita and important sects like Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Virashaivism on the one hand, and Jainism on the other.[1]

The centuries just prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire were characterized by intense religious activity in Southern India. Various sects and sub-sects emerged, temples assumed great importance and mathas fostered the spread of religion and learning.[2] Hinduism prevailed in ancient Karnataka. Majority of the people were the followers of Hinduism. Religions like Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Virashaivism flourished the Capital City. The Vaishnavas and Shaivas constituted a large majority. Besides, other religions like Islam and Christianity also received royal patronage. All these religions played an important role in the life of the people in the Vijayanagara City.

6.1 Shaivism

As the Sangama rulers of Vijayanagara were the followers of Shaiva sect and by this reason Shaivism gained royal patronage. It was the major and most popular religion of Vijayanagara and had a fairly large following drawn from all classes of society. Almost all the well known streams of Shaivism like Pashupatha, the Kalamukha mention in the Vijayanagara inscriptions and literary works written by the court poets.

According to a legend Pampadevi was a mental creation of Brahma, one of the Trimurties. She performed penance on the bank of the river Tungabhadra to please Shiva and marry him. Finally Shiva being pleased with her penance invited her to come to Hemakuta and there the marriage of Shiva and Pampadevi was celebrated. This scene is painted in the Mantapa of Virupaksha temple. The court poet Harihara who was staying at Hampi wrote a famous work in Kannada called Girijakalyana. The name of the place Hampi is derived from the name Pampadevi. Hampi was one of the popular Shaiva centres since ancient times.

6.2 Pasupata School

Lakulisa was the founder of the Pasupata school of Shaivism. He was considered an avatara of Lord Shiva and Pancharthika was their specific philosophy. The Vijayanagara records give valuable information about this school. An inscription dated A.D. 1374 refers to Virakamapana Wodeyar’s son, Nanjanna Wodeyar, who granted an Agrahara to the great Pasupata Vratacharya Akasavasi Sankyadi-guru of a very high order.[3] Sankara guru, Maheshwaracharya and Mantramurtigalu were the other pashupata acharyas of the period.[4]

6.3 Kalamukha School

The Sangamas were great patrons of the Kalmukha school of Shaivism. The Kriyashakti figure prominently in the records of these rulers. According to one view these Kriyashakti were Pasupatas.[5] But the probability seems to be that they were Kalmukhas.[6] Venkata Subbaiah says, 'while the names ending in Shiva, Rasi and Abharana are sometimes borne by Shaivas now belonging to the Kalmukha sect, names ending in Sakti do not seem to have been borne by any but the Kalmukhas'.[7]

The name Kriyashakti-Yati is found in a record dated A.D. 1347, which describes him as a Shaiva Guru devoted to the worship of Triyambaka[8] and some inscriptions refer to him as the spiritual guru of the Sangamas.[9]

An epigraph of A.D. 1362 states that Basavayya Dannayaka, an officer of Bukkaraya I, granted the village Bhavikere to Kriyashakti-Yati. Bukka II, son of Harihararaya II was a disciple of Kriyashakti.[10] An epigraph of A.D. 1397 tells us that Kriyashakti was the Rajaguru.[11] Another inscription of A.D. 1390, inscribed on a boulder to the west of Hemakuta hill, again refers to Nagappa, a devotee of Kriyashakti who constructed a well known as a Vinayaka Asvatha Bhavi.[12] Thus, the Kalamukhas were decorated with very high position by the rulers of the first dynasty.

6.4 Virashaivism

Virashaivism was propounded by lord Basavesvara. The Sangamas were Shaivas and later works seem to indicate that they were Virashaivas. Anntacharya's Prapannamritam narrates that king Virupaksha II as Virashaiva and later on he embraced Srivaishnavism.

An inscription of Devaraya II refers to him as Virashaivagama Sarasampanna,[13] and according to another inscription he was as an ardent devotee of Sri Mallikarjuna of Srisaila, an important Virashaiva centre.[14] Lakkanna Dandesa, Ariyappa Dandanayaka, Bhandara Jakkappa were the Virashaiva officers under Devaraya II. Among them Lakkanna Dandesha played an important role during the Sri Lanka expedition. In A.D. 1420 Lakkanna Dandesha constructed a gopura to the Virupaksha temple in Virupaksha pura and got excavated a tank called Manmatha Pushkarni.[15] He was also popular by his work Shivatatva chintamani. During the time of Sangamas some Virashaiva literary works were composed. The composition of 101 Viraktas became very popular and many viraktas were very active in Vijayanagara to popular the religion. Bhimakavi, Prabhudeva, Jakkanarya, Tontada Siddhalinga-Yati and others were very popular Virashaiva poets of the Sangama period.

6.5 Virashaiva Mathas in the City

In the Vijayanagara city, there were a number of Virashaiva mathas built by the Virashaiva yatis and the followers of Virashaivism. Lakkanna Dandesa, an officer of Devaraya II, founded a Virashaiva school in the city for the purpose of teaching the Virashaiva theology the disciples in turn went to different parts of Karnataka for spreading Virashaivism.

In Vijayanagara there existed ten mathas belonging to Virashaivism as supported by monuments in the city. All these mathas were located in the rathabidi to Virupaksha. They were

1) Kasikarisiddesvara-matha
2) Mavinatopina Saviradevara-matha
3) Kotturasvami-matha

4) Bhusanuru-matha
5) Kallu-matha
6) Hanuvala-matha
7) Nilammana-matha
8) Huli-matha
9) Mahantina-matha and
10) Nirasi-matha.

Beside these, another Hiriya-chatra or Hiriya matha was there at Krishnapura called also as Virupakshapanditas Hiriya-matha noticed in an epigraph.[16]

Virashaivism gained prominent position by the Vijayanagara kings especially Sangamas. The kings organized systematic efforts to collect many literary works of Virashaivism like Basava-purana, Revana-Siddheshvara-Kavya, Nurondu-sthala, Puratanara-Tripadi, Tribhuvana-tilaka etc. Virashaivism enjoyed the support of the masses as well as the higher classes of the society.

In the Vijayanagara city three Brahmanical sects could be seen, they were Smartha, Srivaishnava, and Mahdva. The Brahmins following Advaita philosophy of Shankaracharya were called Smarthas. Those who followed the philosophy of Ramanujacharya viz. Visisthadvaita were known as Srivaishnavas. The followers who accepted the Dvaita principles of Madhvacharya were called Madhvas.

The two important Advaita mathas at Shringeri and Kanchi, besides a number of other propagated the doctrine of Advaita in southern India. Many epigraphs from A.D. 1346 onwards reveals the close links between the Vijayanagara rulers and the Shringeri-Matha. The pontiffs of the Shringeri-Matha were patronized by the Raya's of Vijayanagara.

Some structures in the City bear evidence to the prevalence of the Smartha traditions. A Smartha Brahmanical Matha is located on the northern side of the prakara wall of the Virupaksha temple. The outer-wall abuts the prakara wall. The matha is known as Sri Shankara Bharati Matha.

Another Smartha Matha is the Chintamani Matha in Anegondi. It is believed that matha was established in the early 14th century A.D. and it continued to be in existence not only during the Vijayanagara period but also Post Vijayanagara times.[17]

Vidyatirtha was a prominent teacher of Advaita Vedanta who was held in great reverence by the Sangama rulers. He was both the temporal and spiritual guide to Bukkaraya-I. he was succeeded to the throne with the blessings of Vidyatirtha.[18] A copper plate grant of Harihara-II describes Bukkaraya as the worshipper at the lotus feet of Guru Vidyathirtesha.[19] The other advaita teacher and architect of Vijayanagara empire was the distinguished Vidyaranya. He made notable contributions through his works like Jeevanmuktiviveka and Panchadashi, notable works on the philosophy of Advaita. The records refer to the fact that Advaita teachers of Shringeri-Matha and the Kanchi-Matha were great celebrities, well versed in Sanskrit and vernaculars. Therefore, the Sangama brothers were moved to visit Shringeri-Matha to celebrate the festival in commemoration of their victory.

Many notable persons belonging to the Smartha sect played an important role in the history of Vijayanagara particularly in the initial days of its foundation. Madhavacharya was a conspicuous figure at Vijayanagara Court. He had an intimate relationship with royal house of Sangamas and was greatly honoured at the court. Sayanacharya, the younger brother of Madhavacharya, served as minister to Kamparaya-I

andHarihara-II. He was a prolific writer and credited with 113 works[20] Bhoganatha, another brother of Madhavacharya was also a great scholar of the Sangama period. Thus, this family played an important role in political and cultural history of the city.

6.6 Vaishnavism

This was a very popular religion in the Vijayanagara City, and especially during the time of Tuluva rulers, this was vigourously practiced. The Shravanabelgola inscription dated A.D. 1368 refers to the dispute between Srivaishnavas and Jainas regarding religious matter.[21] This presupposes the prevalence and practice of Vaishnavism during the Vijayanagara period.

The most active form of Hindu religion during the 16th century was Vaishnavism. The accession of Saluva Narasimha the Vijayanagara throne gave impetus to the expansion of Vaishnavism over the whole of South India. Saluva Narasimha was greatly devoted to God Venkateshwara of Tirupati, which became the most important centre of Vaishnavism in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Vaishnavas of this period fall into two categories, Sri Vaishnavas who were the followers of Ramanujacharya and the Madhwas or the followers of Madhwacharya.

The king Saluva Narasimha was a great scholar and he wrote Ramabhyudayam in Sanskrit and encouraged Vaishnavism. He invited Vedanta Deshika, a very eminent and profound Srivaishnava scholar, to participate in the assembly of scholars. Sri Vedanta Deshika composed two works, Hamsasandesa and Yadavabhyudaya and made scholars to accept these as an exposition of the Srivaishnava point of view on the

Vedanta. On some other occasion there was a dispute between Vidyaranya and Akshobhya-muni, the latter being an exponent of Madhva sampradaya and to settle the dispute, it appears that Vedanta Deshika was appointed and in the discussion that followed, Sri Vedanta Deshika upheld the point view propounded by Sri Akshobhya-yati in his work Madhva tatvasara. It shows the existence of two prominent Vaishnava sects viz., Srivaishnavism and Madhva sect. what is more important is the visit of Sri Vyasaraya of Mulabagilu Matha to the court of Krishnadevaraya. The two great exponents of the Dvaita Siddhanta viz., Purandaradasa and Kanakadasa stayed for some time in the City.[22]

In Vijayanagara City, current were many legends regarding Vali, Sugriva, Jambuvantha, Hanumantha etc. To the west of Anegondi, there is a place referred to as 'Vali Bhandara'. It is believed that the spot was the treasury of Vali. To the west again are the spots described as Pampasarovara, Anjanadri hill and sabariguhe. On the top of Anjanadri is a temple named Anjanadevi which belongs to the Vijayanagara period.

6.7 Srivaishnavism

During Saluva and Tuluva periods, Sri Vaishnavism gained ground in Vijayanagara and a number of Sri Vaishnava gurus became influential at the royal court. This was prevalent even in the Sangama period. The Prapannamritam, a Srivaishnava work of Anantacharya, states that the last king of the Sangama family, viz., Virupaksha II, a Virashaiva by religion embraced Srivaishnavism.[23] According to this work, Ettur Singaracharya or Narasimha-guru, with his brother Srirangacharya started from Ettur towards the capital of Vijayanagara to seek livelihood. Virupaksha was then the king in Vijayanagara. The king Virupaksha felt great reverence for the Ramayana the God Rama and the preceptor Narasimhacharya. He embraced Srivaishnavism and the Ramayana was

read to the king at his instance. The people who listened to the Ramayana were so much influenced by the subline sentiments of the Mahakavya that they became followers of Narasimhacharya and embraced Srivaishnavism. By the impact of this, king Virupaksha changed the sign manual and his official orders for 'Sri Virupaksha' to 'Sri Rama'. This was an important stage in the religious history of Vijayanagara and the practice of Srivaishnavism.

The Prapannamritam was essentially a Vaishnava work and proned to glorify the cause of Vaishnavism. The accession of Saluva Narasimha to the Vijayanagara throne in A.D. 1492 marked the triumph of Vaishnavism and its emergence as the religion of the royal house.[24] And Saluva narasimha was considered to be an incarnation of Lord Narasimha of Ahobalam and Venkateshvara of Tirupati. The Jaimini Bharatamu gives vivid account of his personal religion. Immadi Narasimha also followed in the footsteps of his father Saluva Narasimha.[25]

The loyalty of Krishnadevaraya to Vaishnava darshana is reflected not only in the literature of the period, but also in his daily life and activities. The Vaishnava acharya, Tatacharya, was patronized by him. He was Krishnadevaraya's spiritual guru and adviser and so he was granted the village of Palur as an Agrahara (Sarvamanya Agrahara).[26] Krishnadevaraya also made a number of gifts to Venkateshvara of Tirupati.[27]

The Amuktamalyada, was an excellent work composed under the influence of Srivaishnavism on the royal family and ascribed to Krishnadevaraya. The main theme of this work is Sri Andal, a great Srivaishnava devotee, and the daughter of Periyalvar, one of the twelve Alvars or Vaishnava saints. It narrates poetically the Vishnubhakti of Sri

Andal and eventually her marriage with the God. By the way it also speaks of geneology i.e. the lunar origin of the kings. The work displays king's deep inclination towards Srivaishnavism. Obviously it had its own impact on the officers and also the people who in order to please their master, displayed great interest in the sects associated with Vedanta philosophy, viz, the Advaita, the Vishisthadvaita and the Dvaita.

The service rendered by king Krishnadevaraya to the cause of Vaishnavism, particularly Visisthadvaita with a sense of supreme devotion and dedication is a significant fact of religious thought in the Vijayanagara period. Further, he was not merely a worshipper of Vishnu, but a worshipper of the devotees of Vishnu as well. He enumerated the twelve Alvars whom he compared to the twelve Adityas themselves, i.e. to the sons of Vishnu.[28]

Achyutaraya was ardent follower of Vaishnavism. He crowned himself king at Tirumala where he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of God Venkateshwara in A.D. 1529 and he celebrated his first coronation ceremony at Tirumalai.[29] He made grants to God Venkateshwara of Tirupati every time he visited the shrine.30 The record dated A.D. 1535 refers to Achyutadevaraya instituting new festivals like, Laxmidevi Mahotsavam and the Punarvasu Tirunal.[31]

Vaishnavism gained a stronger hold during the latter half of the 16th century, commencing with the reign of Sadashivaraya. Sadashivaraya, the nominal king, and Aliya Ramaraya, the de-facto ruler, were both ardent followers of Vaishnavism. The copper plates of the British Musem describe Sadashivaraya as Haribhakti Sudhanidhi. An inscription dated A.D. 1545 inform us of Ramaraya that he granted Puduppattu for the purpose of conducting Mukoti dvadasi festival, daily worship and other services at Tirupati and Tirumalai temples for the

accrual of merit to the king Sadashivaraya.[32] Then the Aravidu rulers were the followers of Vaishnavism and there are several grants made to Vaishnava temples.[33]

Many Srivaishnava ascetics played a prominent role in spreading Srivaishnava principles in the city and it's environs. A Srivaishnava ascetic named Govindaraja is referred in an inscription as the guru of Krishnadevaraya.[34] The Emperor Krishnadevaraya also bestowed great honours on Venkata Tatacharya, a great ascetic of the times.[35] The most influential Srivaishnava gurus in Vijayanagara during Sadashivaraya's reign were Tirumala-Auku-Tiruvengalacharya and Kandala Srirangacharya. The former was the guru of Ramaraya. He was also known as Srishailapurna Tatacharya.[36] He granted a village to the Vitthala temple in A.D. 1543.[37] He was also the guru of the powerful Aravidu chief Aubhala Raju.[38] According to an inscription found in the Vitthala temple the younger brothers of Aubhala Raju, Kondaraja and Udayagiri Timmaraja were the disciples of Kandala Srirangacharya. However, these Srivaishnava gurus do not appear to have resided permanently in the City. The presence of Ramanuja Kutas in some of the Srivaishnava temples in the City indicates that Sri Vaishnava ascetics from elsewhere also visited the City and there was a great influence of this religion in the City. Thus, the Vaishnavism and Srivaishnavism extended their guidance to the Vijayanagara rulers.

6.8 Madhva Sect

The Madhva sect was originated by Sri Madhvacharya in the 13th century he had four disciples. They were Padmanabha Tirtha, Narahari Tirtha, Madhva Tirtha and Akshobhya Tirtha.

Padmanabha Tirtha was the first disciple, and he became the head of the Padaraya-matha. One of the distinguished heads of the matha was Sripada Raya.[39] After him Narahari Tirtha became head. Both of them must have helped the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire. Madhva Tirtha was a great scholar, who presided over the Uttaradhi-Matha established by Madhvacharya. He was succeeded by Akshobhya Tirtha, who was a contemporary of Vidyaranya. He had two disciples Jaya Tirtha and Rajendra Tirtha, both of them were popular logicians.

These four Yatis had their Mathas in Mulabagilu, Simhachala, Majgehalli and Kodali respectively. The Mula Matha of Madhvacharya called under the name Uttaradhi Matha is still continuing under the same name. Madhva Tirtha's Brindavana was in Anegondi later on it was shifted to Agharkhed, near Gulbarga. During the Vijayanagara period there were three important lines of Madhva ascetics. Some of the spiritual heads of these mathas lived and died in the capital, the most famous of them was Vyasaraya. He resided in Vijayanagara city. He was a contemporary of Saluva Narasimha and the Tuluva rulers down to Achyutadevaraya. He was a guardian saint of the empire. Vijayanagara City was his main base from about A.D. 1499 till his death in A.D. 1539.[40] There are numerous inscriptions from different parts of the empire that attest to Krishnadevaraya's special devotion to this guru. His stay in the City borne out by his Brindavana at Anegondi and two of his epigraphs in the Vitthala temple. During the reign of Krishnadevaraya, an interesting incident occurred, which speaks of the greatness of Vyasaraya. According to the astrological belief every individual in his life time is supposed to have certain yoga, auspicious or inauspicious period, for a certain period. Krishnadevaraya was to pass through a particular yoga known as Kuhayoga, which was very inauspicious. It was at this time that Vyasaraya came to the rescue of the king and is said to have warded off the evil effects of the yoga by his spiritual power by sitting on

the throne during the period of that yoga. Krishnadevaraya therefore felt so greatful to the yati, that he received him in the court and honoured him by performing Kanakabhisheka, this episode is mentioned in the work Vyasa Vijayam. It gives valuable information about the position of the Madhva sampradaya in the city.

Vijayindra Tirtha was another great Madhva teacher and contemporary of the great Appayya Dikshita. He is said to have composed many works and he spent his early life in Vijayanagara City. Raghavendra Tirtha was a great Pandita and the disciple of Sudhindra Tirtha lived for sometime in the city.

Among the Madhava ascetics a special place of honour belongs to the bhakti poet-saints known as the Haridasa. These Haridasa lived in the City. The first of the Haridasas was Narahari Tirtha, who lived and died in the city. The next important saint was Sripadaraya, who was followed by Vyasaraya. Vysaraya greatly popularized the Haridasa movement. Some of the greatest of these Haridasa were Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa and Vadiraja who were the disciples of Vyasaraya. All these saints played a great role in spreading the principles of Madhva sect in the City.[41]

6.9 Jainism

Jainism received full royal support from the earlier rulers of ancient Karnataka, from the days of Kadambas up to the period of Hoysalas. At that time a number of Jain basadis and chaityas were established in different parts of the state. In the same way, the Vijayanagara rulers continued the royal patronage and played an important role in its spread. The Rayas made liberal grants and donations to the Jaina temples. A number of epigraphs give information

about the development of Jainism in the Vijayanagara City. The Jains without discrimination served in the army, in the ministry, in the field of literature and education. They were also engaged in trade and commerce. The Jain officers, merchants and rich people made liberal donations to the basadis and chaityas. In the Vijayanagara City Ganagitti Jinalaya, Parsvanatha Basadi, Jaina temple near the Royal Centre, Jaina temple near Somavarada Bagilu, another Basadi behind the Elephant Stables, yet another Basadi on the way to Vitthalapura and at Anegondi, and another basadi near Kaddirampura were the important Jaina centres. So, the existence of all these basadis shows that Jainism received great support and liberal patronage from the rulers of Vijayanagara.

The Ganagitti Jinalaya was built by Irugappa Dandanayaka, the minister of Bukka II in A.D. 1385.[42] He also built one more Jinalaya at Anegondi.[43] The magnificent temple of Parsvanatha was built in the Pansupari Bazaar, near the Royal Centre by Devaraya II in A.D. 1426.[44] Basava Dandanayaka constructed Mantapa Torana to Adinatha and Parsvanatha Basadi at Hampi.[45] Krishnadevaraya and his successors also patronized Jainism.[46] During this period the great Jain teachers who received patronage from rulers were Visalakirti and Vadividyananda.[47] The Hampi inscription dated A.D. 1396 located on the pedestal of the missing stone image kept at Kamalapura archaeological museum registers two Jaina acharyas or monks Dharmabhushana Bhattacharya of Mula sangha Balatkaragana and Sarasati gachha.[48] Another epigraph found at Ganagitti Jaina basadi gives name of some other Jain monks like Padmanandi, Amarakirti, Simhananda, Vardhamana.[49] Festivals like Javadayastami, Mrutapanchani, Sodasha-Bhavane Puje, Sravana were celebrated.[50] The Mahamandalesvara Sri Rangaraja Ramarajayya made a grant to Shantinatha tirthankara.[51]

Thus, the above noted facts reveal the patronage received by Jains at the Vijayanagara City. The people of the majority community like Shaivas and Vaishnavas extended their co-operation and maintained communal harmony.

6.10 Islam

With the devastating military campaigns led by Mallik-Kafur, Commander-in-Chief of Allauddin Khilji in the latter part of the 13^{th} century, the Islam made its entry into South India. The conflict between the Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Muslim kingdoms was more political than religious. Within their area they tolerated Islam, employed Muslims in their services and supported them in several ways. From the early days of the empire, Muslim traders and ambassadors visited the capital and from the fifteenth century onwards there was a large group of Muslims settled in the capital. Among these several were in the army, particularly in the cavalry section and possible many Muslim artisans were employed, as it is indicated in some buildings of the city.

From about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. till the close of the fifteenth century, the horse trade was the virtual monopoly of the Arab merchants.[52] The Vijayanagara rulers greatly depended on them for horses for the royal army. The presence of these Arab horse traders in the City is supported and attested by sculptural representations on the outer side of the prakara wall of the early fifteenth century Hazara Rama temple. There are five panels of reliefs depicting Arab horse traders. The figures are characterized by their long robes, beards and head dress. In some panels they are shown presenting horses before a seated royal figure. Such foreign looking men can be seen even on some of the reliefs of phase one and two of the Mahanavamidibba. From the early days of Vijayanagara Empire Muslims visited the Capital City. But there was a

little impact of Islam on the religious life of the City till the fifteenth century when Muslims began to be employed in the royal army in large numbers.

Sangama ruler, Devaraya II being tolerant, employed a number of Muslim archers in the royal army and encouraged them to settle in the Capital City and its neighbourhood. This kind of employment opportunity to the Muslims by the ruler helped the growth of their settlements. Devaraya II also extended support by allotting some Jagirs to Muslim officers and he erected a mosque for their prayer in the Capital. He also placed Koran before his throne on a rich desk so that the Muslims might perform the ceremony of obeisance before him without sinning against their law.[53] Even an epigraph of A.D. 1430 states that Devaraya II had 10,000 Turuska horsemen in his service.[54] Within the City was a mosque built in A.D. 1439 by Ahmad Khan, an officer of the King Devaraya II.[55] An inscription of A.D. 1440-41 mentions that one of the Muslim officers of Devaraya II by name Ahmad Khan, for the merit of his king built a dharmasala and a well in the city.[56] In this way Devaraya II showed religious toleration towards Muslims.

Even Paes who visited the capital during the time of Krishnadevaraya, during A.D. 1520-22 writes about the existence of Muslim quarters situated at the end of the City and they were many in number.[57]

There was a cordial relationship between the Hindus and Muslims. As it is supported by an epigraph of A.D. 1537, speaks of the construction of a mosque by a pious Hindu for the sake of the Muslims.[58] The same policy of toleration was continued in the times of Sadashivaraya and Ramaraya. And also a large number of Muslims were appointed to the posts of importance in the empire. Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani

was an important officer under the service of Ramaraya and at his request Ramaraya made the grant of the village of Bevanahalli to some Brahmins.[59] There were other high ranking Muslims under Ramaraya like Dilavar Khan,[60] Ambur Khan, an Abyssinian,[61] Noor Khan and Bijly Khan.[62] Though there were frequent battles between Vijayanagara and Muslim Sultans, there was religious harmony at the capital. The rulers of Vijayanagara had respect for all men and their faiths.

Thus, the records make it clear that from the early 15th century onwards the Muslim community formed an important segment of the population of Vijayanagara City. At the east end of the north ridge and extending across the base of the Malyavanta Hill were the main Muslim quarters in the city. This is indicated by the ruins of mosques, tombs, and graveyard. The contemporary writings also confirm the presence of such Muslim quarters in the City. One of the Muslim writers Shirazi refers to the 'Turkavada', where the Muslim community resided had a mosque and carried out their religious activities.[63] A number of 16th century epigraphs also refer to a certain 'village down below the tombs' i.e. Gori-Kelaganagrama.[64] This must have been the area inhabited mostly by Muslims.[65] Even now the number of Muslim monuments in this area show that a large Muslim population resided there.

The two tombs situated on the outskirts of the village Kaddirampura, a village now but which they formed part of the urban core of Vijayanagara indicate the Muslim community lived there. We have three epigraphical references to the tombs[66] and their construction. An inscription refers to the construction of a tomb by Sakalajaravuta for the merit of Chikaraya.[67] Another inscription dated A.D. 1420 states the Hindus by name Basava and Ramanayaka constructed a masjid, a tomb and a compound wall for the merit of Miyaravuta.[68]

The role of Islam and of Muslims in the City and its environs during the Vijayanagara period was remarkable and marked by harmony. This development is striking and noteworthy because the Vijayanagara Empire was founded with the main object of protecting Hinduism and its culture from the Muslim attack. Viewed against this background the above developments are remarkable which must have wiped away the scars of fear and hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and deep impact of the Hindus' tolerant attitude towards Muslims making them venerate Hindu tradition and serve the Hindu Rayas of Vijayanagara loyalty. Of course, at the battle of Rakkasa – Tangadi there was a sizeable Muslim contingent in the Vijayanagara army; the treachery of two of the Muslim generals was one of the reasons for the defect of the Vijayanagara forces.[69] This was an unfortunate event but the important contribution of Vijayanagara is the development of genuine harmony between the Hindu and Islam communities. Thus, Hindu- Muslim unity occupied a unique place in the political-cultural history of Vijayanagara City.

6.11 Christianity

With the coming of Portuguese to India the Christianity began to spread in South India. During the time of Devaraya II and till about the commencement of the 16th century particularly the horse trade was largely the monopoly of Muslim merchants. But with the coming of the Portuguese traders towards the close of the fifteenth century, the monopoly of the Muslim merchants was broken. Hence, it paved was for the entrance of Portuguese merchants to the coastal port towns and gradually to the Capital City. The economic prosperity of Vijayanagara empire attracted these Portuguese merchants to come and settle in the capital and its environ. Paes writes that in this City one would find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade, which

had many precious stones there, principally diamonds.[70] Thus, from this we can understand that there was a population of Portuguese who were Christians. They must have settled in the capital for fabulous trade. In the case of Islam we have monuments to say about their comfortable stay at the capital as seen from mosques and some Islamic structures. But we do not have any such evidence to speak about the Christian buildings at the capital. The reason for this might be their small number living in the City, and their temporary stay. The Portuguese settlement at Goa must have encouraged them to concentrate their bussiness only in Goa and coastal area. The Christian merchants played an important role in the economy of Vijayanagara.

A number of Christians visited Vijayanagara especially in the sixteenth century A.D. as envoys, travelers, traders, soldiers and adventurers. However, on the whole they do not appear to have been a part of the resident population of the capital, nor did they engage in any public religious activities. We have no evidence of literary or archaeological or inscriptional regarding their Church, or tomb nor any symbol.

Thus, in the Vijayanagara city not only Hindu religions but also other religions existed. The Vijayanagara rulers were tolerant of other faiths. The Rayas of Vijayanagara did not impose any restrictions on the non-Hindus practicing of their own religion but also there are examples of active state protection and patronage extended to them. The Vijayanagara rulers accorded liberal treatment to all foreigners and their faiths. Barbosa visited the City during the period of Krishnadevaraya and he made an observation about Krishnadevaraya that 'The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry

whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen'.[72] Great equity and justice were given to all.

Thus, the Vijayanagara emperor were a model for religious toleration.

6.12 Festival in the City

The Vijayanagara rulers encouraged a number of festivals and personally they involved in celebrating such festivals. Among these festivals, commonly celebrated by members of all the communities, there were some which were particularly favoured by the Shaivas and some favoured by the Vaishnavas, while some festivals were connected with particular temples in various parts of the country. The Vijayanagara emperors were particularly interested in conducting religious festivals with the involvement of all subjects. They considered it their duty to have the festivals duly conducted. Inscriptions, literature and traveller's accounts provide ample evidence to the religious festivals celebrated by the members of the royal family and the people of Vijayanagara. They were celebrating various festivals in the empire and particularly in Capital City to pray God to protect the subjects from natural clamities and a alien invasions.

A record dated A.D. 1521 in the Hazara Rama temple refers to the donor, Timmaraja as making arrangements for festivals such as the Rathotsava in the month of Chaitra, Rathasaptami, the Uti festival, the elephant hunt at Sankranti and the sacrificial fire in the Pushya. On these occasions the deity was to be brought to the utsava-mantapa; probably it was the one in the north east of the courtyard.[72] Rathasaptami was one of the meritorious festivals of the Hindus; it is celebrated on the seventh day of the bright fortnight in the month of

Magha. It is said to have the Sun riding on a chariot of seven horses; and is there fore called Rathasaptami. The festival of Rathasaptami was celebrated with great religious favour not only in the city, but all over the country. The Shivaratri mahatyamu informs us that, on the day of Rathasaptami a lamp-stand made of gold, silver, brass or iron should be carried by the devotees on the head to a river bank and after worshipping the sun should be left in the river. This was immediately followed by ablutions.[73] An inscription of the Balakrishna temple dated A.D. 1532 records that Achyutaraya made grants for two festivals, the Uyyale-Tirunalu (Swing Festival) and Kode-Tirunalu (Summer Festival).[74]

Another inscription dated A.D. 1534 notes the construction of the Tiruvengalanatha temple by Hiriyatirumalaraja and the grants he made to the temple. It also records Achyutaraya's gift of a village made for various offerings in the temple and for the Rathotsava and the Kode-Tirunalu.[75]

The maximum number of festivals are mentioned in the Vitthala temple inscriptions. In the record relating to Krishnadevaraya's grant of A.D. 1513, reference is made to two car festivals, one in Phalguna (Feb-March) and another one in Vaishakha (April-May).[76] In an inscription A.D. 1543 the Uti festival is mentioned[77] in A.D. 1545 a grant was made for the purpose of offerings to be made to God Vitthala on the day of Rathasaptami.[78] Another inscription of A.D. 1554 the Aravidu chief, Udayagiri Timmaraju constructed the uyyale-mantapa in which the deity was to be placed in the swing on a number of auspicious occasions, such as Prathama-ekadasi and Dvadasi, five days of Uyyale Festival, five days of Kode Festival, ten days of Tiruvadhyana, three days of the Dhvajarohana of the car festival, three days of Sripushya, one day of Ramajayanti, one day of Vamanajayanti, etc.[79] His brother Kondaraja, gave an endowment in A.D. 1561 for an additional two days to be added

to the ten days of Tiruvadhyana Festival instituted by Udayagiri Timmaraju.[80] In A.D. 1559 a rich patron, Nammalvar, made provision for taking the deity in procession to the Parankusha-mantapa at the end of the Vitthala Ratha Vidi on 142 days of the year. This inscription also mentions the other three car festivals, the Pavitra Festival, ten-day of Mahanavami-Vijayadasami festival, Ugadi, Teppa-Tirunalu, Makara Sankranti and Toppu Tirunalu.[81] An inscription of A.D. 1556 from the Tirumangai Alvar temple in Vitthalapura reveals that the practice of celebrating the birth-star of the Alvars was in vogue and that on such days the Prabhandam was recited.[82]

Festivals were celebrated by all the communities with much fervour, devotion and gaiety in the City. Three major and national festivals celebrated in the City were Mahanavami (Dasara), the Holi and Dipavali, while there were other minor festivals for the worship of Gods. Festivals afforded the people not only to forget the hard realities of life but were celebrated in commemoration of the triumph of good over evil.

One such festival was Mahanavami or Navaratri (Nine Day Festival) festival which was celebrated by Vijayanagara kings during the lunar month of asvin corresponding to mid October. This festival was first reported in the greatest South Indian kingdom of medieval times, the Vijayanagara. Mallana's Rajasekhara Charitramu mentions that the celebration during the nine days of the festival were in commemoration of Devi's different victories over the evil forces affecting mankind.[83] One view is that this festival strengthened the idea of kingship as a sacred institution.[84] The festival consisted of nine days of celebration followed by the tenth and final day, Vijayadasami. There is an epigraphical mention of Mahanavami Vijayadasami festival in Vitthala temple.[85] One of the earliest eyewitnesses of this festival was an Italian by name Nicolo-Conti, who visited the City and the kingdom in A.D. 1420. Even Paes and Nuniz

give similar gloriful descriptions of the Mahanavami festival in their accounts.[86]

The most dazzling festival in the capital was Mahanavami. Though religious in form, it was essentially political in its significance.[87] Abdur Razzak, a contemporary visitor to Devaraya II's court considers the Mahanavami celebration as stately and magnificent. All the nobles of the empire assembled for this feast with their retinue, elephants and horses. Enchanting pavilion containing two to five stages were constructed. Some of these pavilions were so constructed that they revolved, every moment offered a different face to the viewer. In front of the plain was constructed a pillared edifice of nine storeys ornamented with excelling beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth storey. Between this palace and the pavilion there was an open space beautifully laid out in which singers and story tellers exercised their respective arts.[88] There were also jugglers and wrestlers who performed their feats before the king. The king worshipped the God both in the morning and evening, while buffaloes and sheep's were sacrificed to the God. There were dancing women who danced and also wrestled before the king.[89] The festival of Mahanavami took place for nine days with all pomp and glory. The king fasted all these nine days, and he ate nothing until the festival ended, and his hour of food was midnight.[90] During the nine festive days "Fire works, games and amusements went on".[91]

Dipavali or the Festival of Lights also attracted the attention of the people and visitors to Vijayanagara as well. The festival was held in the month of Kartika. During the festival, according to Nicolo-Conti, "They fix up within their temples and on the outside of the roofs, in numerable number of lamps of oil susimanni, which are kept burning day and night".[92]

Holi was a grand and colourful festival celebrated in Vijayanagara with great religious fervour. Nicolo Conti, who visited the Vijayanagara City, gives details about the celebration of Holi: "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for that purpose by the way side. This is received by all with much laughter".[93] Another traveler Pietrodella-Valle also mentioned the celebration of the Holi festival.[94]

Nandi Timmana's Parijatapaharanamu, Krishnadeva-raya's Jambuvati Kalyanam, Srinatha's Harivilasamu also give vivid accounts of the Holi festival.[95] The Mahanavami Platform had panel reliefs include several figures, one among these depict women applying each other coloured water. The outer wall of the Hazara Rama temple also depicts women diluting colour with water and sprinkling each other with it joyfully.

Car festivals of temples were common. Temple elephants, musicians, trumpeters and dancers went along with the procession of the car in which the idol was placed, it was known as Utsava-murthi. The stone car infront of the Vitthala temple at Hampi was an evidence to the celebration of car festival. Inscriptions and foreign accounts give ample evidence to the celebration in the City. Poet Ahobla in his work Virupaksha Vasantotsava describes the car festival of God Sri Virupaksha of Hampi. Even the foreign accounts of Conti and Razzak tell about the celebration of the car festival in the City.

Karahabba was celebrated on the full moon day of Jyeshtha month, it was the festival day called karaparva of festival on bullocks race. The Amalabasava Charite, a Kannada work by Singiraja (in A.D. 1500), describes the celebration of this festival. He writes, "on that day

youth full bullocks were set out in a race. For that occasion, the whole city had decorated all over with festoons and banners".

Various new processions of deities were instituted in the empire, they being associated with the endowments of new rulers. Gods and Goddesses were taken in procession through the streets. One of the paintings in the Virupaksha temple depicts the scene of a sage being taken in procession.

Beside state support, temples also enjoyed liberal patronage from private donors, such as rich individuals, sectarian leader, professional guilds. Thus, royalty and the people of Vijayanagara made liberal endowments to institute such festivals and rituals. The observance of festivals and rituals in temples, the exuberant celebration by the public and lively accompaniment of dance an music that added colour were integral aspects of life in the city. These demonstrate the vigour and vitality of religious life in the Vijayanagara City.

6.13 Royal Patronage to Tirumala Tirupati Temple

Tirumal temple like other in our country bears on its walls several epigraphs of various kings, queens, generals, other royal benefactors and common men who made gifts and endowments to the temple. These are of considerable interest, not only to scholars of history, to rebuild the political, social and economic history of the area, but also to those, who desire to know something of the ancient and time honoured institutions, endowments, administrative arrangement for management etc., of the temples of our country. These inscriptions of the Tirumala temple, along with others from the neighbouring and ancilliary temples in lower Tirupathi and Tiruchanur, making a total of well over a thousand,

furnish a continuous and authentic record of the transactions of the temple and the neighbouring area for the last seven or eight centuries.

The systematic collection, decipherment, analysis, and publication of the epigraphs of the temple has been due, wholly to the untiring efforts of Sri Mahant Prayagdasji who was the Vicharanakarta of the Tirumala temple in 1920, and also of the then Dewan Peshkar Sri Doraiswamiah garu who later retired as a Deputy Collector in the old Madras State. Dr. F.W. Thomas of the India Office Library, and the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, a wellknown epigraphist of India, chose for this work Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry took up this work in 1922 and in the course of the next ten years or so, copied the inscriptions on the wall of the temples of Tirumala, Tirupati and Tiruchanur, and also compiled an invaluable epigraphical report in two part, the first relating to the routine of the temple and its administration, and the second about the political history of the area. The epigraphs have been published in original along with English introductory notes in six volumes over a period of years by the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam. The Devasthanam has thus done very valuable pioneering work in the field of proper epigraphical collection and publication of the inscriptions found on the walls of the temple.

There are 169 inscriptions of the period of Saluva Narasimharaya, 229 of Sri Krishnadevaraya, 251 of Sri Achyutaraya, 147 of Sadashivaraya and 135 of the Kings of Aravidu dynasty.

During the same period between 1920 and 1930 the copper plate epigraphs of the famous Tallapaka poet containing sankirtanas and other poetical works, were also discovered from a closed small room in the northern wall of the Vimana pradakshina of the temple. These are inscribed on big copper plates. The composition of the Tallapaka poets

are of two kinds viz., minor poetical works in Telugu mostly on grammar, ethics etc., and the Sankirtanas, viz., Sringara sankirtanas, Adhyatma sankirtanas and Vairagya sankirtanas. Some of the minor poems and some of the sankirtanas have been edited and have been brought out by the Devasthanam. It is however a matter of deep regret that inspire of the fact that these were discovered more than 50 years ago, systematic attempts at complete and critical edition of these invaluable records is yet to see the light of the day. These copper plates of sankirtanas were known to have existed from a long time ago. Robbert Sewell the famous indologist was told of the existence of “two cartloads of copper sasanas” during the time of his enquiry in the epigraphs of South India. It is expected that if these are fully edited critically and published, they would add a great deal to our general knowledge of those times.

Of the 1180 and odd inscriptions which were copied between 1920 and 1930, 640 are from Sri Venkateshwara temple at Tirumala, 340 from Sri Govindarajaswamy temple at Tirupati and the remaining are from other small temple.

There are still about 100 or more epigraphs in Tirumala temple which are yet to be copied and deciphered. This awaits the labours of future epigraphists and historians. Here also with all the modern facilities for research. The Tirumala Temple achieved its full fame and glory during the Vijayanagar period, due to the patronage of the ruling Emperors. Both Krishnadeva Raya and Achyuta Raya made several pilgrimages to the temple and offered priceless jewelleries and also endowed several valuable properties for carrying on the services of the temple itself in the presence of the Lord. Thus, the impact of the formation of the Vijayanagar Empire, and its building up its strength and fame and extent during the four dynasties of its emperors, had their effect also on the fortunes of the Tirumala temple.

Till the 13th century A.D., most of the endowments of the Tirumala temple had been made only by the people from the extreme southern part of South India, except for a few exceptions from the westcoast. The first person from the western area of South India who made valuable endowments and contributed to the service of the Temple is Singaya Danda Nayaka who was the military commandant of Vira Kampana at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. From the Tirumala inscriptions we learn that he handed over Arisanalayam, Nandavanam and other trust properties attached there to one of the Jiyars in connection with the Muslim invasions in the South. Vira Kampana and Saluva Mangi Deva were also helping in this task of containing the Muslim forces.

Thus Singaya Danda Nayaka who came to be closely associated with this part of the country, more or less as a military commandant, took up services to the temple by establishing two mathams and nandavanams each of which he handed over to a Jiyar for the due performances for the objects of the endowments.

From one of the inscriptions of Tirumala, we find that during this period, Bukka-I, made endowments of tirupponakam (food offering) everyday, which has since been known as Bukkarayan-Sandhi and also for the conduct of a Brahmotsavam. Mahamandalesvara Mangi Deva did a very great service to the temple by gold gilding the vimanam on the sikharam of the Tirumaladeva. This is found in 237-T.T., which says that on Saturday, the tenth day of the bight fortnight in Ashadha in the cyclic year Vikari corresponding to Saka year 1218 or 1359 A.D., the illustrious Mangideva Maharaja fixed a golden sikhara over the vimana of Tirumaladeva. It is significant to note that the regnal year of any ruling King is not mentioned. This is an indication that the administrative political system in the country was in a state of change or flux and there was general confusion.

In the wake of these endowments, we find Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar appearing on the stage as the agent of Harihara Raya for instituting a new festival or tirunal called masi-tirunal in 1387 A.D. This is found in 103-T.T. in an inscription in the Varadarajaswamy shrine of the Tirumala temple where a sum of 100 panams was paid to the Sribhandaram in the cyclic year of Prabhava in the name of Harihara Raya by Mullai Tiruvenkata Aiyar, who executed the endowment from the income of the village PonGodu. Here also we find that a temple accountant Tiruninr-ur-udayan is mentioned. Another interesting feature is that although endowments and gifts are made, it is not clearly stated as to who is the institutional person of the temple to accept this, and on whom the whole and sole responsibility for administering the endowment will lie.

Thus by about 1390 A.D., inscriptions in Tirumala temple show, the body of temple managers, who in the pre-Vijayanagar days, looked to the performance of the temple functions, seem to have lost their hold and that body does not figure in the silasasanams like the one mentioned above. The inscription mentioned above clearly mentions that it was the Tiruninra-ur-udayar or the temple accountant who recorded these two gifts and not the sthanattar. An interesting inference can thus be drawn that, by this time, though the Vijayanagar Empire had been established, its hold over the Tirumala temple the devotees and the temple management accepting their hegemony over them had not percolated down upto 1380 A.D. This is also clear from the lack of any prashasti in the inscriptions while referring to the great Vijayanagar kings.

From inscription No. 57-T.T. of Mullai Tiruvenkata Aiyar, it is found that by Saka year 1312 i.e., by about 1390 A.D. the prasadam of the temple was being shared between the Tirupati Srivaishnavas, Tiruchanur Sabhaiyar, Nambimar (temple priest), Koyil Kelkum Aiyars,

and the two temple accountants. The prasadam had been divided into twelve parts and then distributed among these in a fixed proportion. Thus the total committee of temple management would appear to consist of ten sthanattars, and two temple accountants. The Srivaishnavas referred to are abviously 'Ekaki srivaishnavas' who were first introduced in the temple by Ramanuja, there number being one during Ramanuja's time; four within three centuries; and ten by 1398 A.D. These Vaishnavas were obviously performing the religious functions, such as worship, archana, abhishekam etc., in the temple etc in addition to managerial duties as members of the trust properties of the temple. These Srivaishnavas, who thus derived their descent from Ramanuja's time, are the predecessors of the present archakas of the Temple, who as a compact body have been rendering uninterrupted service with singular devotion and dedication to the lord for over 1000 years.

Conditions Prevailing in the Temple just before and after the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire

Just before and during the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire there is an interesting interlude in Tirumala temple viz., the temporary sojourn of Lord Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam here, who had to be taken away from Srirangam on account of disturbed conditions there.

The Kovil Oluhu, an account of the history of the temple at Srirangam, which records most of the principal events relating to the history of the temple at Srirangam, gives a description of what actually took place on the occasion of the Muslim invasion of the South in 14^{th} century A.D. The inhabitants of Srirangam were celebrating one of their famous annual festivals; in which the image of the God is carried to the river Coleroon and set down in the middle of the river bed for getting

through a number of items of various acts of worship, till late in the evening, the God is taken back to the temple in a huge procession. It was in the course of this festivity all unexpectedly that the invading cavalry of Muhammad Tughlak clattered down to the banks of the Coleroon along the road from Kannanur. Before the invading forces could come into touch, people immediately in attendance upon the image quickly came to a resolution to save the image of the God, the festival image which was meant for being carried about, and Lokacharya, a sturdy man of middle age, carried the image in a palanquin and walked away through unfrequented ways, and escaped through Pudukkottai avoiding public roads. They finally thought the best place to go to would be Tirupati. The fact that, owing to the turmoil, they thought Tirupati was the safest place available and that they could move along unmolested by way of Terukanambi across Mysore to Tirupati gives us an indication that the territory concerned was under a state which remained, more or less unmolested, in spite of the Muhammadan invasions, although the roadways were far from being absolutely safe. This must have taken place some years after the invasion of A.D. 1328, which indeed was what set the image of Ranganatha on the move. Perhaps it actually refers to a period when the authority of Singana Nayaka, or it may be his successors, still prevailed over his region, the region round Tirupati extending westwards to as far as Terukanambi and perhaps beyond, which seems more or less the condition inferable from the account of Ibun Batuta as well. So during the period of turmoil of the Mohammedan invasions and the years following, Tirupati remained a comparatively safe place to offer protection even to the image of Ranganatha from Srirangam. It is perhaps the possession of this region in comparative security and its providing a good place of retreat in time of need, that induced Vira Ballala to establish himself in Tiruvannamalai by preference, a fortified place on the high road leading from the north to the south along one of the well-known highways of the south. Not only

did that provide a place of safety with a safe retreat behind for emergencies, but it also proved a convenient centre from which to develop his further movements against the Sultans of Madurai as circumstances proved favourable.

The main evidence about the conditions of the Tirumala temple just before and after the advent of Vijayanagar period is the same as for other periods viz., the epigraphs recorded in the temples. There are three important points to be kept in view with regard to these.

In the first place, the dates are given not in the regnal years of the ruling sovereign, but in Saka years with full astronomical details of the date. This enables very accurate dating to be achieved. Secondly, the ruler's name is generally not mentioned unlike in other prashastis, unless he had something to do with the subject matter of the inscription. Thirdly, where the epigraph records a private endowments, the ruler's name is generally not mentioned.

There are a large number of inscriptions in the Tirumala temple relating to the 1st century of the rule of the Vijayanagar period. The first is No. 487-T.T. It has no date and makes mention of Bukkaraya who made provision for daily food-offering at the temple on the Hill. This probably refers to Bukka-I as already mentioned above the final acceptance of the consolidation of the Vijayanagar Empire as the dominant power in the Deccan does not seem to have percolated to the temple till about 1390 A.D. We may therefore safely assume that only by about 1371 A.D. did the temple come under the undoubted influence of the Vijayanagar empire even though the empire had been in existence from 1336 A.D. apart from all it was only by about 1371 A.D. the Lord Ranganatha was removed and reinstated at Srirangam and this gives clear indication that by that time, public confidence in the empire had

been fully restored and the rulers of Vijayanagar could make their administration felt and their authority accepted throughout this part of the country.

Inscription No. 237-T.T. of Nangideva Maharaya already referred to probably refers to the Saluva ruler Mangideva who played a prominent part in the invasion of Vira Kampana to relive Madurai of the Sultanate forces there. Epigraph No. 496-T.T. in the Padikavali gopuram is a mutilated tow-line inscription referring to Sambhukula Chakravarthi Tirumallinatha Sambhuvaraya Perumal. This is interesting since the Sambhuvarayas were so closely connected with the Cholas ruling in the Palar basin with their capitals at Tirunallar and Virinchipura till they were defeated by Kumara Kampana, who were ultimately brought under Vijayanagar rule.

No. 103-T.T. in the north wall of the Varadarajaswamy shrine also already referred to above, about he deposit of 100 gold pieces by Mullai Tiruvenkata Aiyar in the name of Harihararaya is an obvious reference to the Hirihara of the Vijayanagar Empire.

No 108-T.T. on the Bangaru Vakili for the first time makes mention of Sriman Maharaja Raja Pratapa Sri Vira Pratapa Devaraya Maharaya and refers to his donation to the temple in Saka 1351 or 1429 A.D. It seems to refer to the grant of land in certain villages to the temple, taking into it certain parts already given to the God. From the income out of the land, or villages belonging to the Chandragiri treasury thus given, provision had to be made, in the name of the king, for certain services of food, etc., on certain festivals. The document is broken up and the full meaning of it cannot be made out. A certain number of villages are mentioned paying revenue into the treasury at Chandragiri, and it is

those that are made over to the temple from out of which the provision was to be made.

Broadly speaking, we may take it that with regard to the 1st century of the Vijayanagar rule in Tirumala the first record that make a reference to them is of Bukkaraya although the reference is imperfect and to a great extent the record is also unintelligible. But it certainly does relate to something that was done in the name of Bukkaraya or in his honour. The last record chronologically takes us to the reign of Mallikarjuna and to the date A.D. 1457, That is pretty well in the reign of Mallikarjuna, while he actually died in A.D. 1465, and was succeeded by a brother by name Virupaksha who is referred to by historians as Virupaksha III of Vijayanagar. With this change the actual character of Vijayanagar history changes in many ways, more particularly in Tirupati.

We see, among the names of royal personages, those of Bukkaraya, the first of the names Kumara Kampana, Devaraya II and Mallikarjuna figure through indirectly, the indirectness being due to the manner of dating, as explained above. The names of these monarchs figure because the benefactions made to the temple in each case happen to be in honour of the sovereign or prince concerned. As in the period preceding, the temple management had remained altogether autonomous, and under the control of the Sri Vaishnavas of the locality. The feature of temple organization shows this more clearly, and a number of details appear in respect of it which seem quite reminiscent of the various items of organization that Ramanuja is said to have actually carried out in the place. This is made certain by references to a certain number of festivals which were all his introduction. One particular feature to be noticed is that while, on the basis of Ramanuja's arrangement, almost the whole of the Prabandha seems to have been recited on festival days, a special provision was made for the chanting of some of these, such as the

Tiruppavai. There has so far been no reference to the chanting of the Veda in front of the God, either in the shrine itself, or when the image of God is taken out in processions, or as the record words it, that "while Tiruvengadamudaiyan had all other attributes of greatness, the chanting of the Veda was the one item wanting". We find provision made here for the recital of the Veda (Veda-parayana as it is called), and that happens to be done by the most prominent Vaishnavas of the locality bringing it to the notice of Devanna Udaiyar who set apart some of the royal revenue, one half the revenue of Sittakkuttai for the purpose; and as suggested by Kalikanridasar Alagappiranar, under the name of and in honour of the sovereign Devaraya II, i.e., Devaraya Maharaya, as he is called in the record. There are a large number of benefactions to the temple, several of them from officers of importance, while some of them are from people associated with the management of the temple such as the heads of some of the Mathas in the gardens round the temple, where resided the bachelors or Sanyasis, who had the management of the various institutions attached to the temple. One noticeable feature of these benefactions is that while the smaller of them are of the ordinary character, the larger benefactions take on the character of investments of money being made for irrigation and other facilities for the lands already under cultivation, or bringing uncultivated lands into cultivation, and making the income there from serve the purpose of the benefactions. This gives clear indication of a double purpose; the acquisition of the religious merit of a benefaction in a holy place, and making this benefaction serve as the same time the secular useful purpose of benefiting those who lived upon the land by providing them facilities, and really bringing more land under cultivation. This would be immediately for their benefit, so that what was intended for the spiritual merit of the individual doner proved of benefit not only to the God or the temple, or the Brahmanas dependent there on, but also served equally to benefit the other communities concerned. Direct State control, or of benefactions

by the State as such, we do not come upon so far and even where royalty and important officials made these benefactions, they were intended for their personal spiritual benefit, and therefore were provided for from out of their own funds rather than from the funds of the State. The contributions therefore of the State as such, may so far be regarded as almost non-existent, and the properties attaching to the temple were entirely, at any rate, so far as this shrine is concerned, the result of private benefactions for the benefit of the temple itself.

Tirumala Temple under Sangama Dynasty of Vijayanagar

From the time of Saluva Narasinga Deva Maharaya, an entirely new chapter in the history of the Tirumala temple was opened. He was the great grandson of Mangideva Maharaja who gold-gifted the vimanam and the shikharam of the Tirumala Temple in 1359 A.D. The word 'Saluva' seems to be a synonym for 'hawk'. Saluva Narasimha gave complete support and loyalty to the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire. By his innate tact and political foresight, they managed to keep himself above the petty jealousies and enemies of numerous chieftains. His association with the Tirumala Temple led to far-reaching changes in the fortunes of the temple. He was lucky in having a co-worker and adviser in temple affairs a devotee of wide understanding and experiences viz. Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Iyyangar. This inscription in the temple show that Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Iyyangar with the help and patronage of Saluva Narasimha was able to introduce far –reaching reforms in temple ritual, worship and administration.

Bukka, the traditional first emperor of the Sangama line Vijayanagar is not directly mentioned in any of the inscription, but there are three inscriptions Nos. 487, 237 and 238-T.T. that would belong to his reign. No. 487-t.T. which is undated refers to the record of a grant of

a village to the temple for Sandhi offering twice a day in the name of Bukkaraya which thenceforward came to be known as Bukkarayan-Sandhi. The other two epigraphs are also similar endowments.

Harihara II is mentioned in other epigraphs found elsewhere, to have made gifts at Kanakasabha (Chidambaram), Srikalahasti, Venkatadri (Tirumala), Kanchi, Srishaila, Somasila, Ahobila, Srirangam and Kumbakonam. However, so far as the inscriptions of the Tirumala temple are concerned, there is only one inscription of his 103-T.t., which records the institution of a festival for Sri Venkateshwara in his name in the month of Masi and an arrangement for its conduct by the head of a Srivaishnava Matha through the payment by him of 100 panam each year, being the income of the village of PunGodu. Probably the agent was given possession of the village also. This agency of a religious head would seem to indicate the slow pervasion among the kings of the First Vijayanagara dynasty of Vaishnava influence which bore its first fruits in the temple in the resuscitation of the Vedaparayanam during the reign of Devaraya II through the efforts of Mudaliyar Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappiranar and in the construction of mantapams and gopurams and the establishment of feeding-houses, flower-gardens, festivals and other services and charities together with a grant of villages towards their expenses by Saluva Narasimha at the instance of Kandadai Ramanujayyangar.

In the other inscription two royal officers of this king come to notice. Devaraya II is represented by half a dozen inscriptions. Reference has been already made to these. In Saka 1351, Saumya (5-12-1429 A.D.), he made a grant of three villages and a gift of 1200 pon for certain daily offerings (No. 188-T.T.), while in Saka 1355, Pramadicha (22-11-1433 A.D.), he granted, on the recommendation of Idaiyar Devanna-Udaiyar, the half share of the Raja Bhandaram (royal treasury), in the

village of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram, yielding probably 200 panams annually as in the case of the other half belonging to the Sri-Bhandaram (temple treasury), to the 24 Brahmanas engaged for the Vedaparayanam during its rehabilitation in that year after a temporary abeyance (Nos. 89 and 149-T.T.). This village is said to have been situated in Kottalasthalam a subdivision of Vaikundavalanadu. Though the Kottam (district) is not mentioned, it is known both the Vaikundavalanadu and the Tirukkudavurnadu were comprised within the Tiruvenkatakottam, a district of the Chandragirirajya.

Two officers of his, Devanna Udayar and Mallanna are also known to us from these inscriptions. Three other prominent persons viz., Mahamandaleshwara Salvaperi Mallayyadeva Maharaja, a general Tippada Nagayya Nayakar, a relation of the ruling King; and Sri Girishwara probably the younger brother of Devaraya are also known to us from the inscription.

Only one record is available for Mallikarjuna dated Saka year 1371 or 1450 A.D. This record registers the sale of a house and house-site by two Srivaishnavas of Tirupati in favour of one Rajamalikam Chennappa-Udaiyar belonging to the Niyogi sect of Brahmanas and residing in Chandragiri. Probably this Chennappa-Udaiyar was a state-official engaged in offering garlands of flowers to the king and nobles on auspicious and ceremonious occasions (raja-malikam).

Tirupati and Chandragiri which are only seven miles apart, the latter being situated to the south-west of the former, are stated in this epigraph to have been comprised in the two different sub-districts of Tiruvenkata-kottam, Tirupati being in the Tirukkudavur-nadu and Chandragiri in the Vaikunda-velanadu (Vaikuntha-valanadu).

From the time of Mallikarjuna, the first dynasty started declining in power and the various Saluva chieftains assumed the reins of the Government.

Three prominent Saluva chiefs, including Saluva Narasimha, appear in this period. Saluva Siru-Mallayadeva Maharaja, son of Malagangayadeva Maharaja, made a grant of money to the temple in Saka 1372 for certain offering (No. 23-T.T.). Saluva Mallayadeva maharaja, son of Errakampayadeva Maharaja and brother of Per-Mallayadeva Maharaja, noticed under Devaraya II, granted to the temple in Saka 1385 the village of Elambakkam in the Chandragirirajya, including all the grain and money taxes, and also excavated two irrigation channels in the devadana villages (No. 157-T.T.). This grant by Saluva Mallayadeva makes it appear as though he was the governor of the Chandragiri-rajya at the time, ruling almost independently of the reigning sovereign of Vijayanagara and without reference to him at all. Another Saluva chief was the son of this Mallayadeva Maharaja, named Saluva Ramachandraraya; who arranged for certain offerings during the same Saka year 1385 (no. 154-T.T). Two other sons of this Mallayadeva made their appearance in the subsequent reign, one Saluva Goppayya in Saka 1391 (No. 155-T.T.) and another Saluva Timmaraya in Saka 1403 (No. 196- T.T.). This youngest Saluva chief showed his liberality by presenting 7800 panams to the temple for certain daily offerings for Sri Venkateshwara and Sri Varahaswami. These six Saluva chiefs were the members of one single family comprising a father, his two sons and his three grandsons, and they were all of them 'Mahamandalesvara Maharajas'. This family bond must have consequently been a source of great strength to themselves and a source of grave danger to the empire.

Another brand of Saluvas noticed in the Tirumala inscriptions comprised of Saluva Narasimha and his elder brother Saluva Timmaraja-

Udaiyar (No. 69-T.T. of Saka 1385), headed perhaps by their father Saluva Gundaraja-Udaiyar, and otherwise called Gundayadeva Maharaja. Saluva Narasimha's first cousin was Saluva Parvataraja (No. 53.T.T.), son of Saluvaraja who was one of the four sons of Gauta II and a brother of Gundaraja III, father of Saluva Narasimha. Lastly, king Tripurantaka, a junior member of the family, was a second cousin of Narasimha, being descended from Tippa, one of the three brothers of Gundaraja III and the brother-in-law of Devaraya II, though his son Gopa or Goppa who was the father of Tripurantaka. Besides these, there are a few more Saluva chiefs mentioned in records found elsewhere. Timma of Gopa-Timma alias Tirumalaideva Maharaja was probably a brother of Tripurantaka (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 77). Sangamadeva Maharaja, believed to be another cousin of Saluva Narashimha, was ruling somewhere in the south (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 167).

Tirumala Temple under the Saluvas of Vijayanagar

With the chiefs, governors and viceroys, Vijayanagara Empire at the end of the 14th century of the Saka era must have been susceptible to tendencies leading to disruption, decay and dissolution through clannish wars and dynastic quarrels, affording untold avenues for riches and power and territorial aggrandizement and military glory, to the brave and the strong who were ready to hurl the week and the vacillating to the ground. This must have been the political condition of the Empire under the last sovereign Virupaksha of the First dynasty of Vijayanagara.

It is possible to form a picture of the political state of the time, but, as to the actual course of events that followed, it is not possible to arrive at any precise conclusions except that Saluva narasimha had before the end of the first decade of the 15th century of the same Saka era, emerged triumphantly over the rest and managed to steer the state clear of shoals

and rocks and land it safe and unharmed and fit to wade calmly and fearlessly through similar storms subsequently. Being supported by his trusted generals and officers, he occupied the most advantageous position in the state, that of a prime-minister. He was again the most powerful of the Vijayanagara subordinates of the time, through the possession of an extensive territory and a numerous and strong army. It is certain that he had not waged wars with his colleagues and conquered them. He slowly went on aggrandizing the territory of the Empire and consolidated it. From his supreme position of prime minister, he firmly held the reins of government in his hands and did not let them loose. It would appear that his prudence got the better of his valour and saved him from ruin. This was a lesson learnt from himself by his generals Tulava Narasa and the later's son Vira-Narasimha either of whom successfully practiced it over his own son Immadi-Narasimha, who is considered to have been dethroned and shut up by them in the fort at Penugonda. It was a meritorious service of his that he preserved the Empire in tact and passed it on to Krishnaraya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, who further welded it and infused vigour into it so as to make it last as a great and powerful Empire for two more generations after him. Having originally been a semi-independent chief in the South in the days of Mallikarjuna (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 58) and having gradually extended his power and rule over the present North Arcot, Chittoor Vellore, Chingleput and South Arcot districts, Saluva Narasimha became the prime-Minster and general of the last sovereign of the First dynasty and the defacto ruler of the empire. In the fourteen inscriptions of the temple belonging to him and his time, ranging in date between Saka years 1378 and 1411, he is given only the title of "Mahamandaleshwara", indicating the subordinate position he held, while the other birudas, viz., "Medini-misaraganda" and "Kathari-Saluva," are those that are common to the Saluvas. He was the son of Saluva Gundayadeva Maharaja and Mallambika (No. 197-T.T.) and he

had an elder brother by name Saluva Timmarajadeva Maharaja-Udaiyar (No. 69-T.T.). Srirangidevi-amman was his queen (No. 341-T.T.). He had three sons, viz. Kumara-Narasayyan, Chikka-Sangaman and Periya-Sangaman.

During the time of the Saluvas several festivals came to be resuscitated in the temple like Adhyanotsavam, Pavitrotsavam, Kodai Tirunal, etc.

The most outstanding event during this period was the compilation of a work called by its author Pasindi Venkatatturaivar (alias Jiyar Ramanujayyan) "Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam". This compilation was for the first time solemnly announced and openly read out by the author in the presence of Malaikuniyaninram and the Nachchimar on 27th June 1491 (II. 95). We have no idea of the contents of that work. The object of the author seems to have been to give a mythical origin of the Archavatara Tiruvengadamudaiyan on the Tirumalar Hills which would appeal strongly to the religious sentiments of Hindus.

Another event which has appealed strongly to the imagination of succeeding generations is what has been called "Pulugukkappu" which means smearing the entire body of Periya Perumal with scented civet oil which is specially prepared in the temple.

The custom of smearing the face of Periya Perumal every day at the time of the morning Tiruvaradhanam (Nityarchana) from the month Adi to Margali (6 months) with specially prepared civet oil was an innovation made by Tirukalikanridasar Alagappiranar of Tirupati in 1434 A.D. This must have been done at the time of the daily tirumanjanam of the Silver image of Manavala Perumal. This daily tirumanjanam of the Silver Image is made more attractive to the devotees by the addition of perfumery to

the sweet smelling herbs which from the earliest times were added to the water used for Tiruvaradhanam. This practice was inaugurated by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar in 1465 A.D. and was financed by Saluva Narasimhadevaraya. This Tirumanjanam came to be known as Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam.

After Saluva Narasimha died in 1482 A.D., his son Immadi Narasimha succeeded and ruled till the middle of 1505 A.D. with him, the Saluva line came to an end. Narsa nayaka, another commander-in-chief and the Chief Minister under Saluva Narasimha was the defacto ruler when Immadi Narasimha was out of throne. His son Viranarasimha ruled as Emperor till his death in 1509 A.D.

Some inscriptions in Tirumala temple mention some of the officers of the King during this period.

Tirumala Temple under the Tuluvas

With the accession of the third dynasty and especially during the reigns of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya, the temple attained to its pinnacle of fame and prominence. It also received royal gifts that were given as endowments in an unbounded measure to the Lord. During this time not merely the Emperor, but also his queens, his generals and his officers and all the temple servants also made great endowments to the temple.

Krishnaraya is represented in the Tirumala collection of epigraphs by nearly fifty inscriptions belonging to himself and his two queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi. They range in data between Saka 1434(=1513 A.D.) and Saka 1445 (=1524 A.D) and register personal offerings and direct gifts made during their frequent visits to the temple

of Sri Venkateshwara on Tirumala whom he venerated as his Patron-God, as well as the edicts of grants issued by him from his capital city of Vijayanagara. As in the case of his charities elsewhere, Krishnaraya's gifts in the Tirumala temple also are generally recorded in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Tamil and Canarese, as if indicating his sway over the entire Southern India in which they were spoken. Sri Krishnadevaraya had made no less than seven visits to Tirumala temple.

All the gifts made by the emperor at Tirumala seem to have been engraved on stone by his own engraver Sripati, son of Paddayachari, and the drafts of the edicts were also composed by his own men either Gindi Basavarayalu or Baguri Mallarasa. The Sthanattar do not figure in any of these inscriptions except in 578 T.T., where in they were empowered to collect certain taxes. In the disposal of the donor's share of the prasadam it was the Tiruppanipillai that was empowered to appropriate to himself 1/5 share of the prasadam in each and to distribute the remainder to piligrims in the choultries established by the Emperor and his two queens. The total quantity of the food offerings by three are 20 tirupponakam, 4 tirukkanamadai and 4 appapadi. The two purohits who accompanied the Emperor, Ranga Dikashitar and Shiva Dikshitar, also got each a large share of the prasadams.

The following is the list of gifts and endowments made by Krishnadevaraya and his two queens to the temple, as noted in the Tirumala Temple epigraphs.

A. Gifts made on 10th Feb, 1513 A.D.

1. One Navaratna Kiritam, the total weight of which was 3308 carat, Vommechchu 1555, Kundanam gold 1076.

2. One Trisaram (three-stringed necklace) containing pearls, manikyam sapphires etc., with addigas all weighing 225 carats and one padakam weighing 61 carats.
3. Twenty-five silver plates for offering camphor harathi.

By Queen Chinnaji Amma

4. One gold cup for offering milk at the nightly Ekanta Seva, weighting 374 carats.

By Tirumaladevi Amma

5. One gold cup for offering milk as above weighing 374 units.

B. Gifts made on 2nd May 1513 A.D.

6. One Vadudhara ornament weighing in all 66 units, inclusive of 5 diamonds, 17 addikas, set with emeralds, rubies, diamonds, gems and gold string.
7. One kathari (sword) with sheaths set with diamonds, rubies, sap hires; tassel for sheath composed of small pearls, big pearls, and rubies. Total weight 326 units. In these the rubies, diamonds and emeralds alone weigh 165 units.
8. One Nichchala kathari sheath for daily use 132 units set with rubies on top.
9. One small sword for daily use with tassel of pearls.
10. One sheath for above sword containing rubies, pearls and diamonds
11. One padakam or pendant weighing 87 carats set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds etc.,
12. One pair of bhuja kirti or vanki weighing 573 units set with pearls, rubies, sapphires and old diamonds.
13. One bhuja kirti for daily use weighing 198 units.
14. Two pairs of bhuja kirti for daily use.

15. One gold string with 17 addigas, 30 more addigas in shape of peepul leaves, pearls, rubies diamonds and emeralds weighing 205 units in all.
16. Another similar string weighing 276 units.
17. For the Utsava Murti and Nachchimar, three crowns weighing 380 units in total, containing pearls, old diamonds, rubies, cat's eyes and sapphires (S e III. 60, 61, 62, 63).

C. Gifts made on 6th July 1514 A.D. by Krishnadevaraya

On his return journey after capturing Udayagiri Fort and after defeating Prataparudra-Gajapati). (see III, 66, 67, 68).

18. Kanakabhishekam with 30,000 gold varahas (Chakrapon), to Sri Venkatesa;
19. Three stringed ornaments weighing 250 units inclusive of gold wire, gold clips, rubies, pearls and sapphires;
20. One pair Kadiyam (bahuvalayam) (Talilapakkam village was granted for daily food offering). **By Chinnajidevi amma. (see III, 70, 71, 72).**
21. One kanthamala (necklace) with a padakam set with diamonds, rubies emeralds and pearls weighing 200 units.
    Mudiyur village was also granted for daily offering

By Queen Tirumaladevi. (See III, 73, 74, 75).

22. One charka padakam weighing 225 ½ units and containing diamonds, rubies emeralds and pearls.

D. Gifts made on 25th October 1515 A.D. Yuva Kartika Bahula 3, By Krishnadevaraya.

After returning from his victorious eastern expedition against Kalinga.

23. One navaratna prahbhavali or makara toranam total weight 27, 287 units; containing 25 kirtimukha leaves 13835 vommachchu beads; gold wire weighing 16; solid gold 7978, silk and gold fringes hanging on the head of the makara-toranam 20 weighing 5474.

The above contains 10994 red stones, 754 emeralds, 530 saphires; 40 cat's eyes; 45 agates, 74 topazes, 920 old diamonds; 3933 pearls; 4 large sapphires fixed as eyes; 6 corals and 30 conch shells.

The total weight of the arch of the Makara Toranam weighs 14711 units grand total of the Prabhavali in weight is 31124 units.

The above is for the Lord who gave Krishna Deva Katakapuri (Orissa).

E. Gifts made on 2nd July 1517 A.D. By Krishnadevaraya

After returning from Simhadri Potnuru where he set up his triumphap pillar (Kalinga desha capture). (See No. 578 and 576-T.T.).

24. One Kantha malai
25. One Padakkam
26. For gilding vimanam 30,000 varahas; (also ordered the Sthanattar to collect 1000 varahas from Godagurnadu for the weekly pulugukappu expenses for Tiruvengadamudaiyan, and certain other taxes of Godagurnadu amounting to 500 varahas for conducting daily morning offerings).

(Gold gilding of the vimanam completed on 09-09-1518).

F. Gifts made on 16th Oct. 1518 A.D.

A Kamalapuram inscription seems to say that he paid a visit to Tirumalai withQueen Tirumaladevi on 16th October 1518. But there is no inscription in Tirumalai or Tirupati to support this.

G. Gifts made on 17th Feb. 1521 A.D.

(with Tirumaladevi alone accompanying). (See 301, 302, 586 add 594 – T.T.)

By Krishnadevaraya

27. Pitambaram set with nine kinds of precious stones.

28. Kullavau (or head dress) set with pearls rubies, emeralds and sapphires;
29. Two chamaras (fly whisks) set with nine kinds of gems; and 10,000 gold varahas.
30. One padakam
31. One navaratna padakam by Tirumaladevi

H. Gifts made on 15th Dec.

In addition to the above mentioned gifts he made in the early period of his reign during his third visit on 13-06-1513., certain endowments for the merit of his parents, (father Narasa Nayaka Udiyar and mother Nagalammangaru), which consisted of some ornament set with nine kinds of precious stones (portions of inscription are missing), and an annual Brahmotsavam in the Tamil month of Tai for which he endowed the villages of Chatravadi, Tururu and Karikambadu, in Godagurnadu.

Some officers of Krishnadevaraya also appear in these inscriptions as offering their gifts to the Lord and making donations and endowments to the temple. Some of the names which are given in the epigraphs are the following:

- i) Pradhani Saluva Timmarasa
- ii) Saluva Govindaraja
- iii) Periya-Obala-Nayakar, Rama-Nayakar, a commander
- iv) Rayasam Kondamarasayya
- v) Tryambakadeva
- vi) Karanika Basavarasa
- vii) Karanika Attavanai Basavarasa
- viii) Gindi Basavarayalu
- ix) Avasara Narasayya and his brother Timmayya
- x) Udiyam Ellappa-Nayakkar

xi) Adaippam Baiyappa-Nayakkar

xii) Mannarpillai and Appapillai

Other subordinate officers who are mentioned in the epigraphs of his times and made gifts are following

i) Bahur Mallarasa

ii) Nagaraju

iii) Tammu-Nayakkar

iv) Tiruvenkatayyan

v) Obalayyan

vi) Lakku-Nayakkar

vii) Tirumalai-Nayakkar

viii) Chinnappa-Reddi

ix) Ranjakam Srirangaraja

Some religious teachers and other prominent men of this time are also mentioned in the epigraphs. Even though Krishnaraya's religious leaning were towards Vaishnavism, as amply testified to by his composition of the Telugukavya "Amuktamalyada" with the alternative title of "Vishnuchittiyama he had shown special favour to and greatly honoured the Madhva-guru Srimat Vyasatirtha Sripada-Udaiyar, the disciple of Srimat Brahmanyatirtha Sripada-Udaiyar. The discipleship is expressed by the term Karakamala-samjata, i.e., born out of the lotus-like hand of Brahmanyatirtha. He was the founder of the Vyasaraya-Matha. He was entitled Srimat Paramahamsa-Parivarajaka charyavarya, Padavakya-pramanagna, Durvadigarvasar-vasvapahara, Srimat Vaishnava siddhantapratish-thapakacharya and Sakala-vidvajjana-manahpadma-vanasaupastika.

Sriman Narayana Jiyar, the disciple and successor of Sri Van-Sathakopa Jiyar, who founded the Ahobila-Matha of the Vadagalai sect of the Srivaishnavas was an elder contemporary of Srimat Vyasatirtha.

Narayana Jiyar appears to have stayed some time at Tirupati in the course of his religious tours, through the country. Within the space of three months he paid two sums of 1860 and 3800 narpanam into the temple treasury in Saka 1438, the first on the 26th August and the second on the 7th November 1516 A.D., to form the capital fund from the interest on which he arranged for offerings for Sri Vankatesha, Sri Govindaraja and Alvars and Udaiyar on specified days (Nos. 60 and 106-G.T). This Van-Sathakopa Jiyar, whose disciple Narayana Jiyar was, must be the Sathakopa-Yati whom Allasani Peddanna, the poet laureate of Krishnaraya, mentions as his guru and to whom he offers his adorations as 'the asylum of all learning', and 'the dispeller of the thick darkness of sins of his disciples through the moonlight of his kind looks' (Manucharitramu Canto I, Introduction, verse 6).

A few Srotriya-Brahmanas also appear in some of these epigraphs. Naranayyan or Narayanadeva, son of Tatvadi Tirumalayyan, was a Srotriya Brahmana of Gautama-gotra and Apastamba-sutra and resident of Agaram Kampasamudram in the Padavidurajya. His gift of Tivalaippundi in Kondavali-simai, one of his srotriyam villages, made in Saka 1436, Bhava (26-07-1514 A.D.) is found registered in two inscriptions apiece (Nos. 27 and 284-T.T.) The incessant obeisance of the father Tatvadi Timmanan is recorded in No. 344 – T.T. Salaippakkam Narasayyar was another Srotriya Brahmana and he gave to the temple the village of Muttur in Gandikota simai in Saka 1452, Vikriti (29-12-1529 A.D.) (No. 927 – T.T). He was the son of Mantravadi Madarasar of Kasyapa-gotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rik-sakha. Only a single record No. 76T.T., belonging to the Tallapakam family of poets who were the hereditary musicians of Sri Venkateshwara's temple, comes to notice in the reign of Krishnadevaraya. It registers the payment of a sum of 1500 narpanam in Saka 1439, Ishvara (30-11-1517A.D.,) by Tallapakam

Tirumalayyangar, son of Annamayyangar of the Bharadvaja gotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rik-sakha, for the deity's daily propitiation.

A few Nagarattar are also noticed here. Pappur-Setti, son of Vandaiyaram Chennamu-Setti of the Kundina-gotra, was one of the Nagarattar residing in Narasingarayapuram, a suburb of Tirupati. He made an endowment of 2500 narpanam for offerings for Sri Venkatesha, Sri Govindaraja and other deities in the name of himself, his father Chennamu-Setti and his mother Marakka, in Saka 1434, Angirasa (15-1512 A.D.). (No. 267-T.T). Kondu-Setti, son of Dharmapuram Tammu-Shetti, was another merchant residing in the same suburb of Narasingaryapuram in Tirupati. For some reason Krishnadevaraya is stated to have granted to him the village of Chinatayapalli situated near Velumapalem as Umbalikai. Probably the village was given to the merchant as a Jagir free of rent for certain services rendered by him in connection with the supply of provisions for the army during Krishnadevaraya's military progress in the south early in his reign, which appears to have commenced before Saka 1433, Prajapati, Karkataka su (ba) 14, Wednesday, Punarvasu (23rd July, 1511 A.D.), when a sarvamanya land was granted to the temple at Sandali in the Tanjore district by Viraiya Danayakka-Udaiyar to secure victory to the king and to himself, as reported in No. 213 of 1926 nearly a year and a quarter prior to his camp at Shivanasamudram on 'state bussiness' on the 22nd September 1512 A.D. Kondu-Shetti already gave half of the village to God Kalahasti-Girishwara, i.e. Srikalahastisha of Kalahasti, and the remaining half village he gave to this temple in Saka 1439, Ishwara (27-11-1517 A.D.) for offerings of Sri Venkatesha and Sri Govindaraja (No. 610 – T.T.). A third merchant that comes to notice is Saranu-Setti, son of Periya-Pengandai of the Vennakkagotra, and a resident of the main town of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 3700 panam in Saka 1449, Sarvajit (16-8-1527 A.D.), for certain offerings for Sri Venkatesha and Sri Govindaraja

(No. 244 T.T.). The term Nagaratrar has sometimes been interpreted as 'members of the village assembly', but from its restricted application to the members of the merchant class in these and other records, it must refer only to the Vaisyas or Komatis who from time immemorial had carried on trade and commerce in India and are still seen to exercise their hereditary profession in small town and villages in South India and are hence known as Vanijas.

Achyutaraya

With the accession of Achyutaraya to the throne, the Tirumala Temple attained its high watermark of prosperity. He had made a number of gifts to the temple and has given royal endowments to it. His queen Varadajidevi-amman arranged for an avasaram for Tiruvenkata-mudiyan in 1534 A.D.

Some of the officers of Achyutaraya who come to notice from the epigraphs of Tirumala are the following: -

i) Pradhani Saluva Timmana
ii) Saluva Govindaraja
iii) Rayasam Kondamarasayya
iv) Karanikka Basavarasa
v) Udiyam Ellappa-Nayakkar
vi) Baiyappa-Nayakkar
vii) Salakaraja Periya-Tirumalaraja
viii) Salakaraja Siru-Tirumalaraja
ix) Bhutanatha Rama-Bhatlayya
x) Bhutanatha Ellappayya.
xi) Immadi Ellappayya
xii) Bayakara Ramappayya.
xiii) Dalavayi Timmarasayya

xiv) Perunkondai Virappanna

xv) Angaraja Nagappayya

xvi) Adaippam Vishwanatha-Nayaka

xvii) Adaippam Mallappa-Nayaka

xviii) Rayasam Ramachandra-Dikshita

xix) Bhandaram Timmappa and Siru-Timmaya

xx) Nottakkara Nagappa

xxi) Dalavayi Krishnappa-Nayaka

xxii) Periya-Timmappa and Chinna-Ramappa

xxiii) Sriranga-Nayaka

xxiv) Sajjarautu Chikkaya-Savayan.

xxv) Matla Ramayya

xxvi) Astigirinathar

xxvii) Gangu Reddi

xxviii) Adaippam Parmadamman and Rukminiamman

xxix) Vengalayyar

xxx) Malaiyapparajan

xxxi) Venkatadri Ayyan

xxxii) Kalahasti Dikshita

xxxiii) Mallarasar Nagaragal

xxxiv) Govinda Pandita

xxxv) Panditar Purushottamayyan

xxxvi) Narayana-Shettiyar

xxxvii) Periya-Samu-Shetti

xxxviii) Nami-Shetti

xxxix) Charanu-Shetti

xl) Krishnappa-Shetti

xli) Tirumalainathar-Pillai

xlii) Pilaipourttar

xliii) Allappa-Pillai

Sadashivaraya

Sadashivaraya is represented in the Tirumala inscriptions by nearly a hundred and fifty inscriptions most of which being with his introduction. A peculiar feature of this prasasti is that to the king is ascribed not only the lordship of the eastern, southern and western oceans with fringe the Peninsula, but also that of the northern ocean that is non-existent in the case of India itself. The earliest date that is available for him in these epigraphs, viz., Thursday combined with the star Punarvasu, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the Karnataka month in the cyclic year Plava, current with the Saka year 1463, corresponding to the 21st July 1541 A.D., which occurs in No. 659-T.T. registering the gift of Muttur and another village to the temple by Srirama-Bhattar, son of yandalur tirumalai-Josyar, is about eight months anterior to the latest date furnished for his predecessor Achyutaraya in No. 504-T.T., viz., Thursday combined with the star Ardra, being the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Mina month in Plava, current with Saka 1463, corresponding to the 23rd March 1542 A.D. It has been stated that Sadashivaraya had been chosen crown prince already in Saka 1459, Hevilambi (1537 A.D.), nearly five years earlier (Ar. Rur. Sep. For 1908-09, page 193), and this statement seems to be supported by the surname "Sadashivapura" found to have been given to Devarayapura in No. 89 of 1912 from Lepakshi dated in Saka 1460, Vilambi, i.e., one year later.

The latest date available for Sadashiva is Saka 1495, Srimukha, Kumbha (29th January 1574 A.D.), furnished by No. 133-G.T. Which registers the gift of a certain Aravidu chief. But the latest date found for him elsewhere is Saka 1497, Yuva, Rishabha, corresponding to 9th May 1575 A.D.. and it is remarked that this later date "only suggests the continuance of the nominal rule of Sadashiva even after Tirumala I had

practically assumed the reigns of government in Saka 1493". As indicated by the imperial titles that are attributed to the letter in his records dated in the same Saka year 1493, in place of the Mahamandaleshwara-birudu given for him in the records dated upto Saka 1492 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, para 45; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 180). Sadashiva's reign therefore extended over a period of about 40 years from Saka 1459 to Saka 1497, including his co-regency during the last years of Achyutaraya.

Two visits of Sadashivaraya to Venkateshwara's temple are indicated in the inscriptions. The first was in 1554 A.D. and the second in 1563 A.D. A few grants of the king to private individuals also come to notice.

Sadashiva's reign was dominated by the chiefs of the Aravidu and other allied families by reason of the united support that they brought to him for his installation on the Vijayanagara throne at the hands of Aliya-Ramaraja. The Aravidu family is represented in Tirumala epigraphs by ten chiefs whose relationship to each other stands as brothers and nephews. They have played a prominent part in the affairs of the Tirumala temple during this period. They are Potlapati Timmaraja, his four sons Timmaraja, Vitthalaraja, Chinna Timmaraja and Pappu-Timmaraja; Aliya-Ramaraja and Tirumalaraja; Kondaraja; and Potlapati Rangaraja and Sripati Obalesvara. The senior member among them was Potlapati Timmaraja, son of Ramaraja and grandson of Araviti Bukkaraja. Timmaraja's two younger brothers were Peda-Kondaraja and Srirangaraja. Timmaraja had four sons by his wife Gopamamba, viz., Tirumalaraja or Timmaraja, Vitthalaraja, Chinna-Timmaraja and Pap-Timmaraja, Peda-Kondaraja's son was Konetiraja, who had four sons, viz., Aubalaraja, Kondaraja, Timmaraja and Rangaraja. Srirangaraja had five sons Konaraja, Timmaraja, Aliya-Ramaraja, Tirumalaraja and

Venkatadriraja, besides four daughters who were married to princes of the Gobburu and other families. Besides these members of the Aravidu family proper descended from Araviti Bukkaraja by his wife Ballambika through his son Ramaraja, Bukkaraja had by a different wife Abbaladevi three other sons Singarayya or Singaraja, Ramaraja and Ahobalaraja on whom the father conferred the chiefship of Nandyala and whose descendants henceforth came to be known as the chiefs of the Nandela family. Singaraja's son was Nandayala Narasingaraja whose two sons were Aubalaraja and Naraparaja. These Aravidu and the Nandyala chiefs with their sons and grandsons must have formed a compact and powerful body whose combined strength, like that of the Saluva chiefs at the end of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara a century earlier, was a factor to be reckoned in the state.

Tirumalaraya or Tirumalayyadeva Maharaja or Tirumalaraja represented in No. 633-T.T., was the son of Aravittu Bukkaraju-Ramaraju-Srirangaraja, and the younger brother of Aliya-Ramaraja. He constructed an Unjalmantapam within the Sampangi-pradakshinam i.e., the corridor round the inner prakara wall which contains the dhvajastambham, and there in arranged for the propitiation of the processional deties on festive occasions. This must be the one that is now known as the 'Tirumalaraya-mantapam', situated just to the south of the dhvajastambham within the Sampangi-pradakshinam at its south-east corner. In Saka 1483, Durmati, Dhanus (15-12-1561 A.D.), he provided for offerings for the processional images during the five days of the Vasanta-tirunal, during the Unjal-tirunal formerly instituted by Saluva Narasimha, the ten Tirukkodi-tirunal or Brahmotsavams, fourteen other festivals and numerous holy occasions observed at the time of Sri Venkateshwar's temple. The processions of the images for the five days of the Vasanta-tirunal were to be conducted on the Sesha-vahanam (serpent vehicle) on the first day, on the Hamsa-vahanam

(swan vehicle) on the second day, on the Garuda-vahanam (kite vehicle) on the third day, the Vaikunta-vimanam (divine chariot) on the fourth day and the Ani-nampiran (elephant vehicle) on the fifth day. This Vasanta-tirunal during which Tirumalaraja arranged for processions and offerings at his Unjal-mantapam is seen from Nos. 649 and 659, A-T.T. to have been established by Manumapoli Timmaraja, son of Kamparaja of the Kasyapa-gotra and Apastamba-sutra, belonging to the Solar race. Tirumalaraja's arrangement for the conduct of the Unjaltirunal or Dolamahotsavam is again recorded in a fragmentary inscription No. 190-T.T., comprising a few Sanskrit verses which trace the genealogy of the Aravidu family from Bukkaraja to Tirumalendra and his four sons. Bukka was entitled Antembaraganda and he had the "Boar" ensign. By Vallamji (Ballambika) he had a son named Ramaraja.

Ramaraja's son was Srirangaraja who had acquired great fame on earth and resembled Jayanta. Srirangaraja was the lord of Kalyanapura and represented on earth the Amarataru (Bhu-Parijata) in his gifts to Bhramanas. On account of his daily gifts and prayers he obtained an excellent son, namely Ramaraja, who was well versed in the sixty-four arts and who was wedded by the Goddesses of Heroism, Empire, Learning, Fame, Wisdom and Beauty. Ramaraja was entitled Chalikka-Narayana, Nanavarana-Sri-Mandalika-Ganda and Rayarahuttaminda. Tirumalambika was the queen of Ramaraja, just as Kausalya was the queen of Dasharatha. Ramaraja's brother was Tirumalendara who was like Lakshmana towards Raghava (Rama). This king Tirumalendra instituted the Dolamahotsava according to the rules of the Shastras. By his queen Vengalamba he had four sons, viz., Raghunatha who was a second Raghunatha (Sri Rama), his brother king Sriranga, the latter's brother Ramaraja who possessed critical scholarship and who equaled Manmatha in form, and the latter's brother Venkatadri.

Tirumalendra brought all Kings under his subjection. On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Dhanurmasa in the cyclic year Durmati (corresponding to Saka 1483, on the December 1561 A.D.), Tirumala made provision for the celebration of the Dolotsava for God Venkatesa. This data is two days later than that given by the Tamil inscription No. 633-T.T. noticed above. An extract in Telugu at the end of the inscription mentions that the above stone record registers the services, together with the genealoty, military conquests and the string of briudas relating to Tirumalarajayya's reduction of the Tulukanam-Alia, i.e., Turkish or Mohammedan chief, of Tirumaladeva Maharaja, the son of Srirangarajayya and the brother of Aliya Ramarajayyadeva Maharaja. It is significant that among the member of the Aravidu family, Tirumala and his second son Sriranga alone are in the epigraph accorded a royal dignity. They no doubt enjoyed it subsequent to the death of Sadashivaraya, but it is to be doubted whether they had any chance to become kings during the lifetime of Sadashiva, especially while Ramaraja was still alive in Saka 1483 (1561 A.D.), which is some four years prior to the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi. It was after this battle in which Aliya-Ramaraja lost his life that Tirumala could step into the place of his brother as the chief minister of Sadashiva and ultimately ascend the Vijayanagara throne about Saka 1497 (1575 A.D.), which is the latest date available for Sadashivaraya (No. 5 of 1919). Tirumala's reign was short and during that period he had associated his son Sriranga with himself in the administration of the kingdom, "and eventually retired from the Karnataka throne in his favour (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 181). Sriranga appears to have reigned until Saka 1507, Parthiva (= 1585 -86 A.D.), and then succeeded by his youngest brother Venkatadri.

Tirumala under the Aravidu Kings

The ruling line of the Aravidu family commenced with Tirumala, who, acquiring power as the chief minister of Sadashivaraya in 1565

A.D., after the death of his elder brother Aliya-Ramaraya in the battle of Talikota or Rakkasa-Tangadi ascended the Vijayanagara throne ten years later in about 1575 A.D., having at the same time changed his capital to Penugonda. His was a brief reign lasting for two or three years during which his second son Srirangaraya or Ranga II ruled as a co-regent with him. His Unjal mantapam, generally called the Tirumalaraya-mantapam, with its exquisitely sculptured high pillars bearing the figures of a warrior riding a horse standing erect over an elephant with another elephant higher up stands in tact to this day as a memorial of his service in the temple and forms the seat of the asthanam of the processional image of Sri Venkateshwara during the annual Brahmotsavam in the temple.

The next reign, that is, that of Srirangadevam Maharaya, is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between saka 1501 (1579 A.D.) and Saka 1508 (1586 A.D).

Venkatapatiraya, generally known as Venkata I, is represented by about a dozen inscriptions extending in date from Saka 1514 (1592 A.D.) to Saka 1538 (1616 A.D.). He was the fourth son of Tirumala and the youngest brother of Sriranga II. From a record from Markapur in the Prakasam district, he is seen to have been a subordinate of Sadashivaraya in Saka 1489 (1567 A.D.) In two epigraphs from the Salem and North Arcot districts he is stated to be referred by his title alone, viz., “Viravasantaraya” (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 187). During the reign of his father Tirumala and his elder brother Sriranga II, he governed the Chandragiri-rajya as its viceroy, as indicated in the Telugu-kavya “Vasucharitramu” (Canto I, Introduction, verse 81) and in No. 185 of 1922 dated in Saka 1494, Ashadha (9-7-1572 A.D.), during the reign of Sriranga, and next held charge of the Udayagiri, Kondavidu and other outlying hill fortresses. He had married five queens out of

whom Krishnamamba or Krishnajiamman mentioned in No. 97-T.T. was one. During his reign, Ranga III surnamed "Chikkaraya". The son of his elder brother Rama III, was co-regent with him, as also Rama IV, the son of Ranga III.

Ramaraya, generally known as Rama IV who was the son of Rama III the elder brother of Venkata I. During the reign of Venkata I, Rama IV served as his co-regent and ascended the throne in Saka 1536 – 37, Ananda (=1614 A.D.) (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 190) Only one inscription No. 329-G.T. dated in Saka 1549, Prabhava, Vrishabha (25-5-1627 A.D.), mentions him as the reigning king.

During this period appears the Matla chief Kumara-Anantaraja, son of Matla Tiruvengalanatharaja and Chennamamba of the Deva-Choda family belonging to the Bhanuvamsa (Solar race). Matli, a village in the Royachoti taluk of the Cuddapah district, lent itself as the family name of these chiefs of the Deva-Choda lineage. Their rule over the eastern half of the Cuddapah district comprising parts of Badvel, Siddhavattam, Cuddapah, Pullampet or Rajampet taluk the name Matlavari-sima, as being the home territory to which was confined the authority of the later members of the family. Matla or Matli Kumara-Anantaraja was the grandson of the elder Anantaraja the author of "Kakutstha-Vijayamu", through the latter's son Tiruvengalanatharaja, (Md. Ep. Rep. for 1916 para 75).

Kumara-Anantaraja's services were directed to the construction of the big outer gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple (No. 218-G.T.), the second gopuram at the foot of the hill which is generally called the Kotta-gopuram (new tower) and through which runs the pathway to Tirumala (Nos. 279 and 280-G.T) and the one on the top of the front hill known as the Galigopuram (Nos. 269 and270-G.T.). The first two towers contain

inscriptions on their inner side stating that they were constructed by Matla Kumara Anantarajayya, son of Tiruvengalanatharajayya-Deva-Choda Maharajulayya.

Kumara-Venkatapatirayadeva Maharaya is represented by two records Nos. 328 and 63-G.T. dated respectively in Saka 1553 (1631 A.D.) and Saka 1557 (1636 A.D.). This Kumara-Venkata, also known as Peda-Venkata II. Was the son of Ranga IV who was a son of Aliya-Ramaraja. He was chosen crown-prince along with his successor Ranga VI by Rama IV in Saka 1544 (1622 A.D.). He is stated to have been crowned king in Saka 1552 (1630 A.D.) by Tirumala Tatacharya.

No.328-G.T. registers the provision made by a certain Ramachan-drayya for offerings for Sri Venkatesha and Sri Govindaraja in Saka 1553, Prajotpatti, Kanya (29-09-1631 A.D.), and the construction of a mantapam by him to the west of the Matham of the Ilan-Kelvi-Jiyar on the south side of the street adjoining the Sannidhi-vidhi to the south. He excavated a fresh the irrigation channel in Varadarajapuram which was at the time in disrepair. No. 63-G.T. also refers to the excavation of an old damaged irrigation channel in the tiruvidaiyattam village Avilali by Alagarayyangar Annangaracharyar, son of Prativadibhayankaram Venganacharyar of Srivatso-gotra, Apastamba-sutra and Yajus-sakha, and his gift of some lands therein. The measuring rod of 32 feet is mentioned in it.

Srirangadeva Maharaya, generally known as Ranga VI, was the son of Pina-Venkata III, the younger brother of king Venkata II. He was crown-prince during the reigns of both Rama IV and Venkata II and ascended the Karnata throne on 29th October 1642 A.D. His reign lasted for a period of about 23 years upto Saka 1587 (1665 A.D.) During his reign, the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur invaded the Karnata kingdom

and conquered it and "the able general Mir. Zumla finally became its Nawab. King Ranga fled southwards and found refuge with one of his subordinates, a chief of Keladi" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 193).

Srirangaraya is represented by two epigraphs of which only one is dated, viz., in Saka 1560, Bahudhanya, Mithuna (15-06-1638 A.D.). On this date a certain Brahmana of the Kasyapa-gotra and Apastamba-sutra, born under the ascendancy of the star Mula, provided for offerings costing 95 rekhai for which he made over to the temple two irrigation channels, from one of which was derived 160 Patti of paddy, as measured with the Kadamaikkal (No. 5-G.T.). The other channel is said to have been situated in Maniyak-konpattu one of the villages comprised in the Tiruvidai-yattam-Ul-mandalam. The second inscription No. 436-T.T. merely records the eternal obeisance of a certain Ramudu of Tirupati, a servant of Srirangaraja, at the feet of Raghunatha.

Two later inscriptions, one dated in the cyclic year Rudhirodgari (1683 A.D.) and another in the Saka year 1606, Raktakshi (1684 A.D.), do not mention the reigning king, but they are referable to the reign of Venkata IV, the successor of Ranga VI (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, page 91). It is significant that these two epigraphs, together with a third No. 290-G.T., are written in Telugu. It therefore appears that by this time Telugu language had come to stay as the main local language of administration. No. 291-G.T. dated in Rudhirodgari, Vaisakha (Saka 1605-16-5-1683 A.D.), registers the ubhayam (service) of a certain Timma, son of Tuvarani Konda Pandita and the obeisance of his younger brother, while No. 290-G.T. merely registers, as an extract, the ubhayam of Rajasri Siddaluri Ramaji-Madarsu-Pantulungaru. No. 2630T.T.of Saka 1606, Raktakshi, Chaitra (20-3-1684 A.D.), records the gift of a kanthe (a necklace) of pure gold valued at 575 Srirangarayavarahas as the capital for offerings for Tiruvengalanathasvami and Varahasvami, following

those of Maharajasri Shudabanuja Pantulu, by Rajasri Shivaraja-Ramachandra-Yetamataravu-Dabirusayi of Srivatsa-gotra, Asvalayana sutra and Rik-sakha, and Timmanayyangaru.

Thus the connection of the history of the Tirumala temple with the Vijayangar kingdom may be considered to have commenced with the gilding of vimanam of Sri Venkateshwara temple by Sri Mangideva maharaya in 1359 A.D. and to have ended with the memorial slab left by Sri Rangaraya Maharaya in the temple in 1665 A.D. It lasted for over three centuries. Then came the political struggle for the supremacy of the Muslim kings and the fortunes of the Tirumala temple underwent a notable change.

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CHAPTER – VII
CONCLUSION

Now, we have come to the end of our study. It is necessary to present some important, broad and general conclusions which emerge out of the present study. First land grants of Karnataka during Vijayanagara period were continuation of the grants which existed in the pre-Vijayanagara period and they in turn were part of the main. Indian stream and rooted in the Aryan Concepts of the ancient period.

Secondly, in Karnataka during the Pre-Vijayanagara period we see the origin and evolution of Brahmadaya, Devadaya, and Mathapura and service grants of various kinds. They were crystallized into institutions and embedded in the socio-economic structure of Karnataka. On this foundation Vijayanagara rulers further extended the complexities of these land grants and created the new ones to meet military and political contingencies of the times. Likewise collective, individual and state ownership in land during the pre- Vijayanagara period became much sharper and complex in the Vijayanagara period.

Thirdly, there was an intense Brahmanization process in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period, which was in tune with the declared ideals of protecting, conserving and promoting Hindu Dharma. It does not mean that the Brahmanization process in Karnataka began only during the Vijayanagara period. But the point is the process was very intensive during this period as revealed in land grants. Extensive creations of Brahmadaya, Devadaya, and Mathapura land grants were a product of this Brahmanization process.

Fourthly, the widespread practice of making land grants in the Vijayanagara period paved the way for the rise of Brahmana landed

intermediaries. They performed administrative functions within their settlements called Agraharas almost independently of royal control. Whatever might be the intensions of the royal donors and their agents, the land grants helped to create a group of influential landed intermediaries. They performed administrative functions within their settlements called Agraharas almost independently of royal control. Whatever might be the intentions of the royal donors and their agents, the land grants helped to create a group of influential landed intermediaries who were wielding considerable economic and political power in their segments called Agrahara. Thus centralized control gave way to decentralization.

The inscriptions of the period from Karnataka which created the Brahmadaya grant record the time limit as Achandrarkavagi or as long as sun and moon which implies the perpetual nature of this tenure under this tenure, in return from land grants, the Brahmanas were obliged to render religious services which might secure spiritual welfare of the donors or their ancestors. The secular obligations of the Brahmanas landed intermediaries under this tenure are rarely laid down. But it is natural to expect that the Brahmana landed intermediaries more than repaid their generous donors and patrons of Sangama, saluva and Tuluva dynasties by maintaining law and order in their segments and impressing upon the people the sacred duty of carrying out their Varna or Jati functions and obeying the Vijayanagara monarch who in this period as recorded in Amuktamalyada of Krishnadevaraya, was believed to have embodied in his person the attributes of various Gods. Hence, whatever may have been the intentions of the royal donors, it would be wrong to think that the Brahmadaya land served only religious purposes during the said period. Certainly the Brahmana landed intermediaries prayed for the spiritual well being of the royal donors and their ancestors and never supplied any soldiers as the Bishops in

England did, but there was no need for military service if the people could be persuaded to behave themselves and to acquire in the existing order. The same remarks hold good in the case of Devadaya land tenures.

Fifthly lands held by the Mathas or Monastries of different sects of Hinduism is known as Mathapura land tenure, of all the Mathas in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period, Shringeri Matha was a very famous and it emerged as a very big landed magnate as a result of extensive donations made by the Vijayanagara rulers and their feudatories, being mainly a center of religion and philosophy. Shringeri math acquired many lands and villages and temporal power within its jurisdiction.

The annual income of about 750 tolas of gold from landed estates, Birudus and other trappings of Monarchical like powers converted the simple heritage into samsthana, a Murusavira sime and a state within a state. The pontiff became Jagadguru who become a very important instrument in the intensification of Brahmanization of the area in the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus the Brahmadaya, Devadaya and Mathapura land grants created by the Vijayanagara rulers in Karnataka helped to strengthen the Brahmanization process which in turn helped the rulers in secular field. They represented the strong conservative forces in rural areas. As a result of this process the peasants were ideologically controlled by the non-producing classes and institutions of the society.

The common practice of granting lands instead of money as now happens in lien of services rendered to the state or society by individuals in various capacities led to the emergence of service tenures. They were known as Umbali, Manya and Kodage. There was either total exemption or a token collection of taxes from persons who held lands under these

tenures. As a result, the state not only incurred loss of revenue but also created a class of landed intermediaries who came to control the means of production, but actually did not till the lands themselves. They were mostly absentee landlords and as such leased lands to tenant farmers on the basis of guttige, geni, yara and gadi.

Thus a little more than two centuries of the history of land tenures (grants) in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period shows that though the changes in this field were not a swift and repaid as in political life, but they were not altogether absent. We can notice a few marked developments in this survey, namely, intensive Brahmanization process through landgrants, the emergence of Shringeri Matha as a Samsthana or Jagir and varieties of service tenures and land leases.

Women with material wealth and social position often appear as generous donors in the inscriptions of the said period. Gifts to temples were in the form of lands, villages, income from villages, proceeds from the remission of taxes, ornaments, cloth, articles, etc. These were made over to the deities in the temples by the kings officials, chiefs, Mahamandaleshwara queens, common women with different religions motives. The benefactions made and endowments created were generally entrusted to the trustees of the temples for arranging regular worship of the deity, for burning perpetual lamp, for conducting temple festivals and for remunerating temple servants for their services in the temple. Women made liberal grants, i.e. queen Tirumaladevi Amman, Varadajidevi Amman, and other royal women, as well as common women and Devadasis made liberal grants to temples, to commemorate, their visits to temples, to secure a strong empire, to acquire religious merit, to celebrate their birthday, and for realizing the four objects of human desire namely, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha.

From the above study, it is clear that the construction of temples was not the right of any individual or a group of people in the society. People of all the classes like the king and servants, the rich and poor, the merchants, the artisans, and the priests contributed their share to the main stream of the constructional campaign. Thereby, a large number of temples came to be set up throughout Karnataka during the period under study.

The temples were erected largely to earn blessings of the God or to acquire merit for oneself or for their elders. Lamp columns or temples were erected to cherish the memory of their preceptors or teachers. Sometimes temples were erected as an act of expiation or to overcome sin. A peaceful situation was conducive for the construction of the temples. During the time of Harihara II, Devaraya II and Krishnadeva-raya there was a general peace throughout the country. Thereby, one can notice the construction of a large number of temples during the period of these rulers.

Liberal grants were given for the development of Virupakshapura, somalapura, Krishnapura, Vitthalapura, Achyutapura, Varadadevi-ammana pattana, Tirumaladevi Ammana pattana, Chinnadeviammana-pattana, and Nagalapura. Construction of wells, tanks and Keres were meant very auspicious so many important people during the said period were involved in it.

Vijayanagara rulers followed the policy of religious tolerance. Shaivism, Virashaivism, Vaishnavism, Srivaishnavism, Jainism, Islam, and Christianity flourished side by side. Festivals like Rathasaptami, Shivaratri, Mahanavami, Holi, Dipavali, were celebrated on a grand scale during the said period. Beside state support, the people of Vijayanagara made liberal endowments to institute such festivals and rituals. The

observance of festivals and rituals in temples, the exuberant celebration by the public and lively accompaniment of dance and music that added colour was integral aspects of life in the city. These demonstrate the vigour and vitality of religious life in the Vijayanagara city.

Tirumala temple like others in our country bears on its walls several epigraphs of various kings, queens, generals, other royal benefactors and common men who made gifts and endowments to the temple. There are 169 inscriptions of the period of Saluva Narasimha-raya, 229 of Sri Krishnadevaraya, 251 of Sri Achyutaraya, 147 of Sadashivaraya and 135 of the kings of Aravidu Dynasty. The Tirumala Temple achieved its full fame and glory during the Vijayanagara period, due to patronage of the ruling Emperors. Both Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya made several pilgrimages to the temple and offered priceless jewelleries and also endowed several valuable property for carrying on the services of the temple on a grand scale.

Thus, most of the Vijayanagara inscriptions in one way or other visualized the concept of Dana or gifts. These concepts viz Dana as an instrument of state policy in a way constitutes the central theme of the present work.

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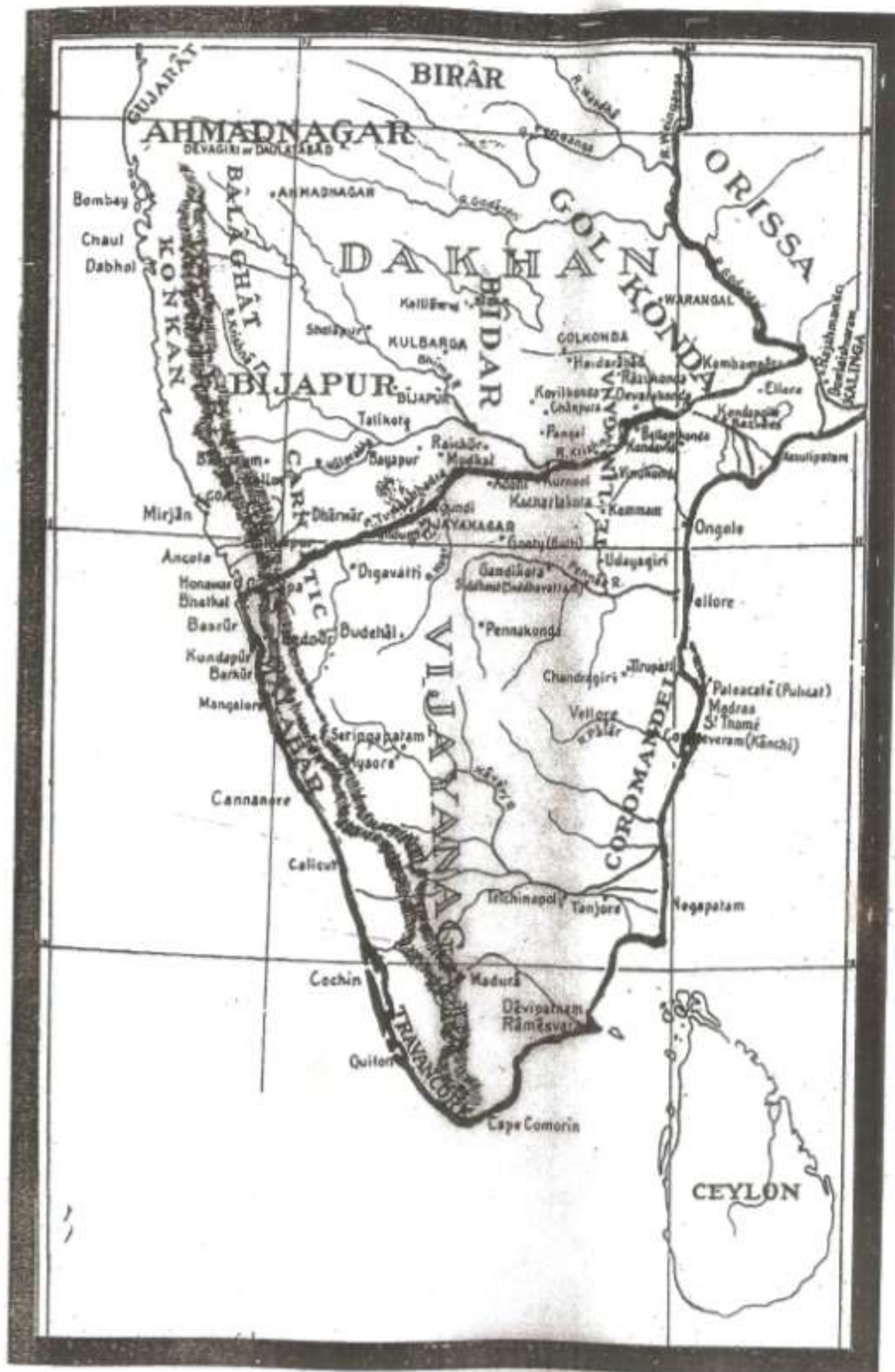
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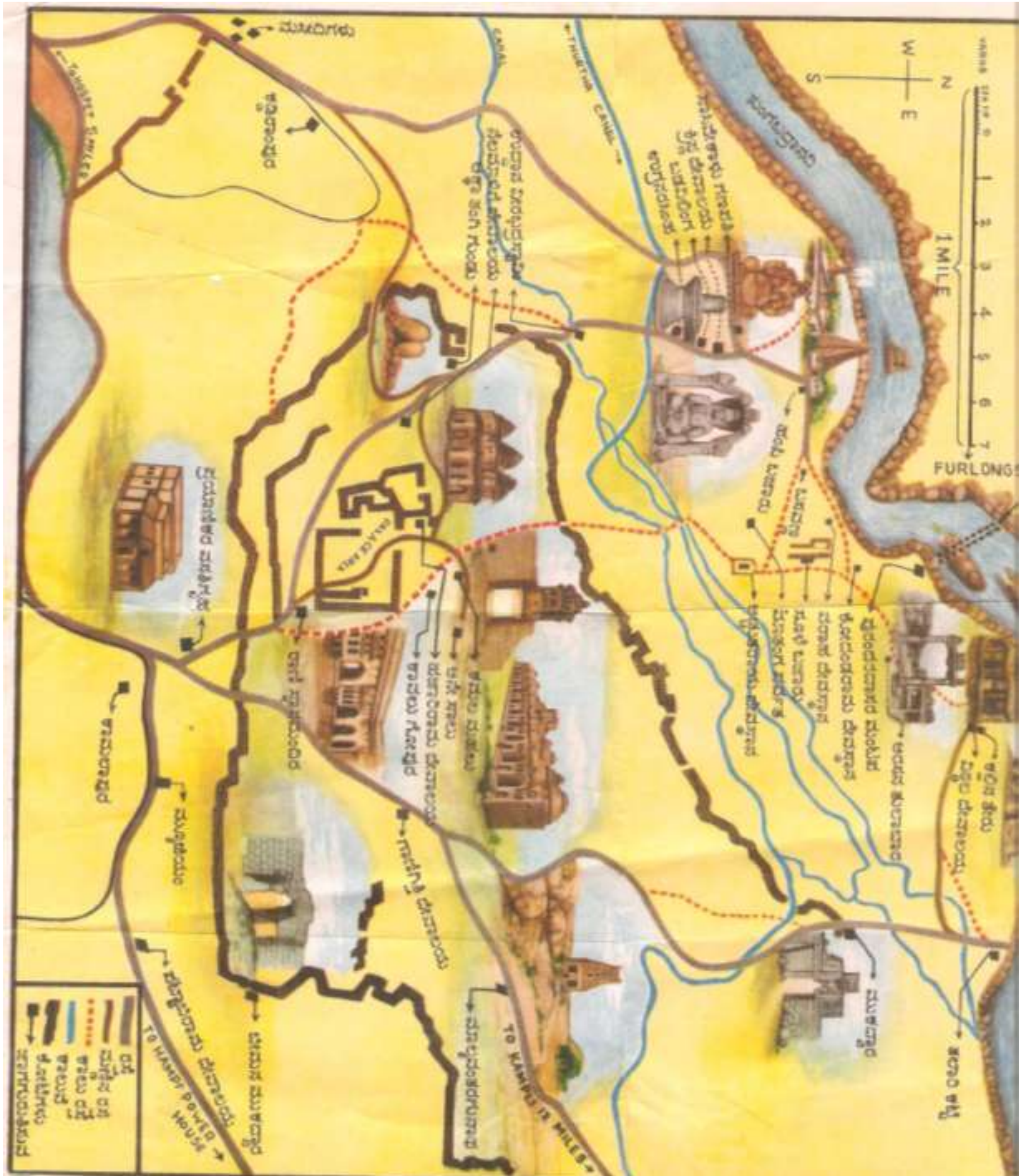
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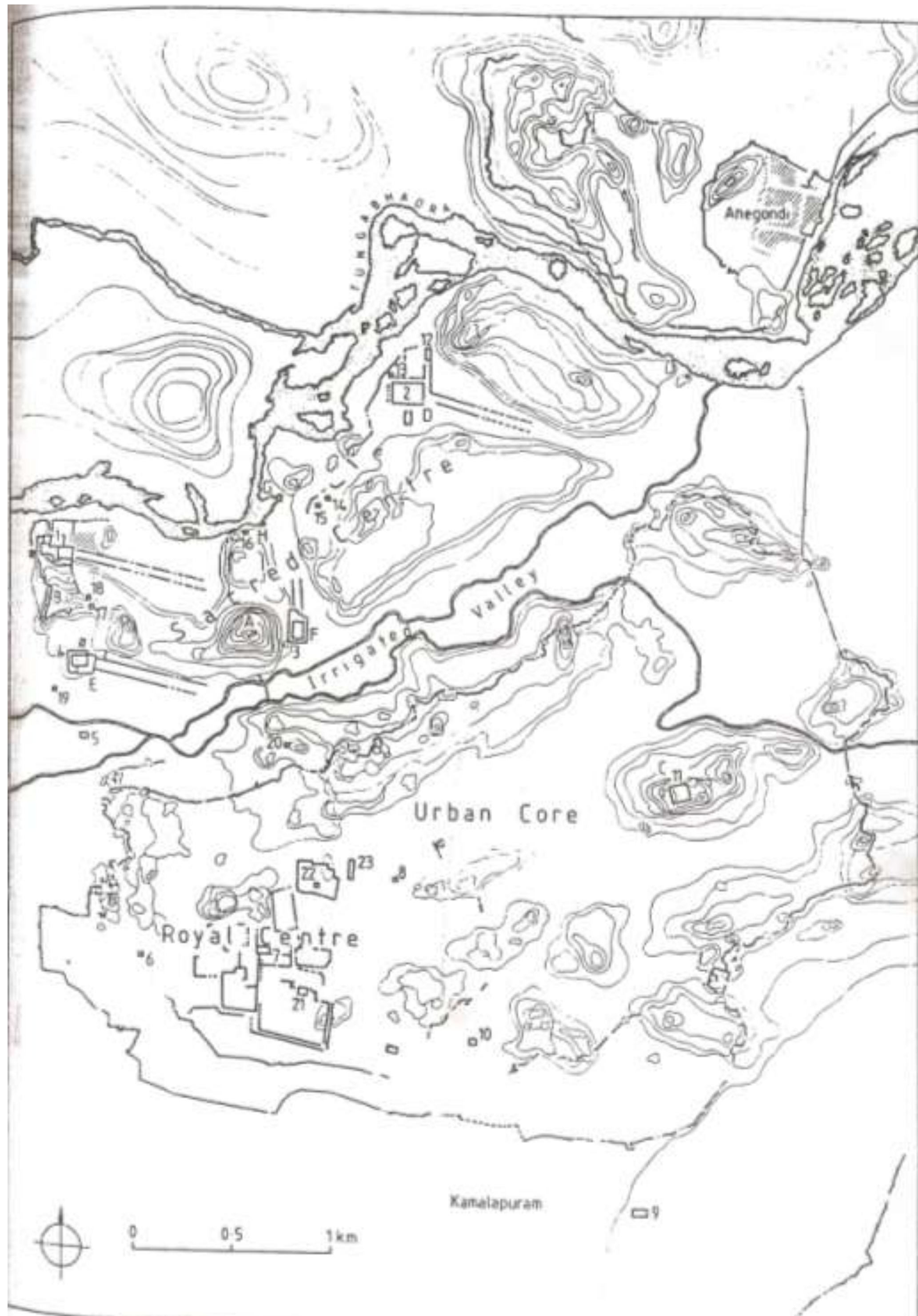
Map 1 Vijayanagara Cmpire (1336-1565 A D)

VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE



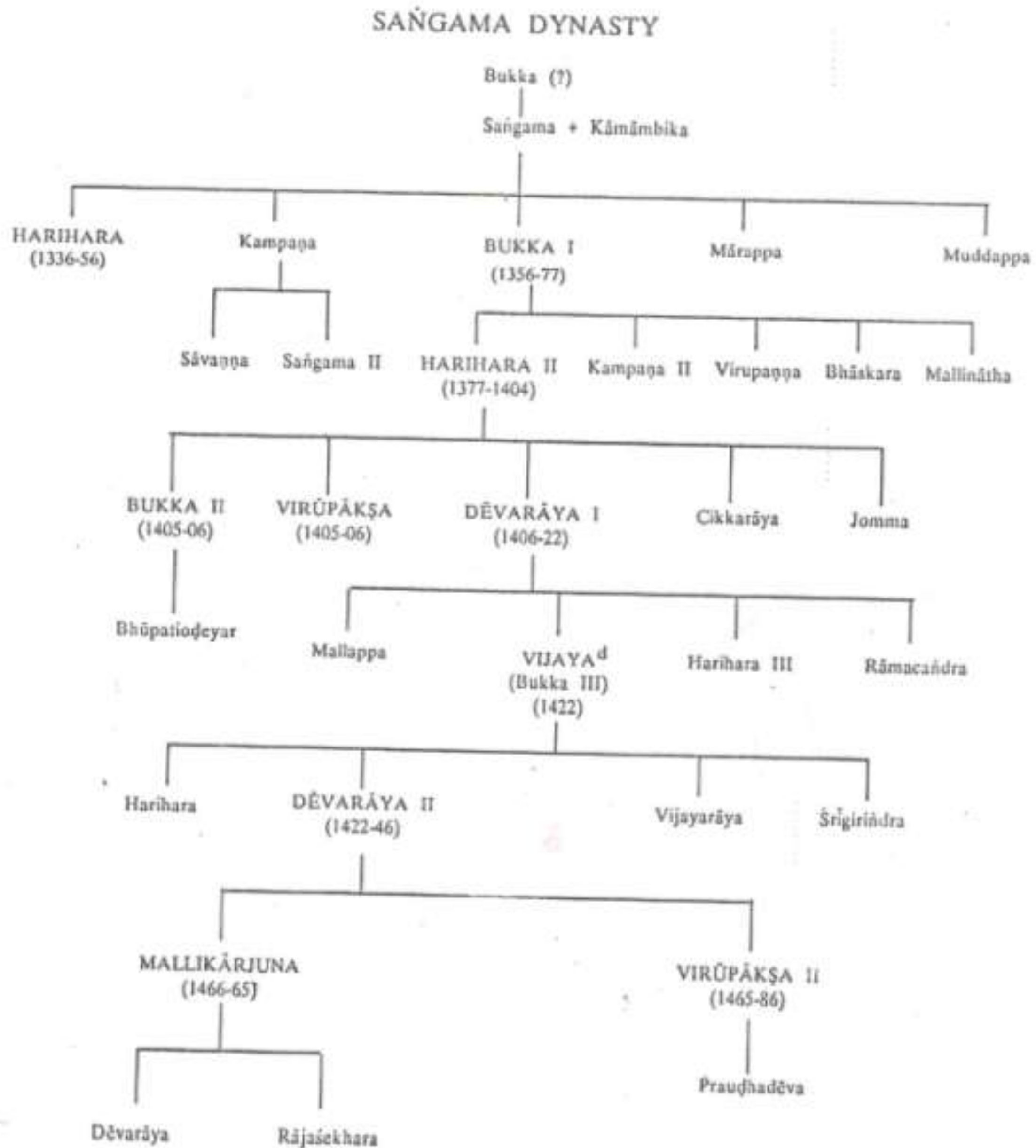


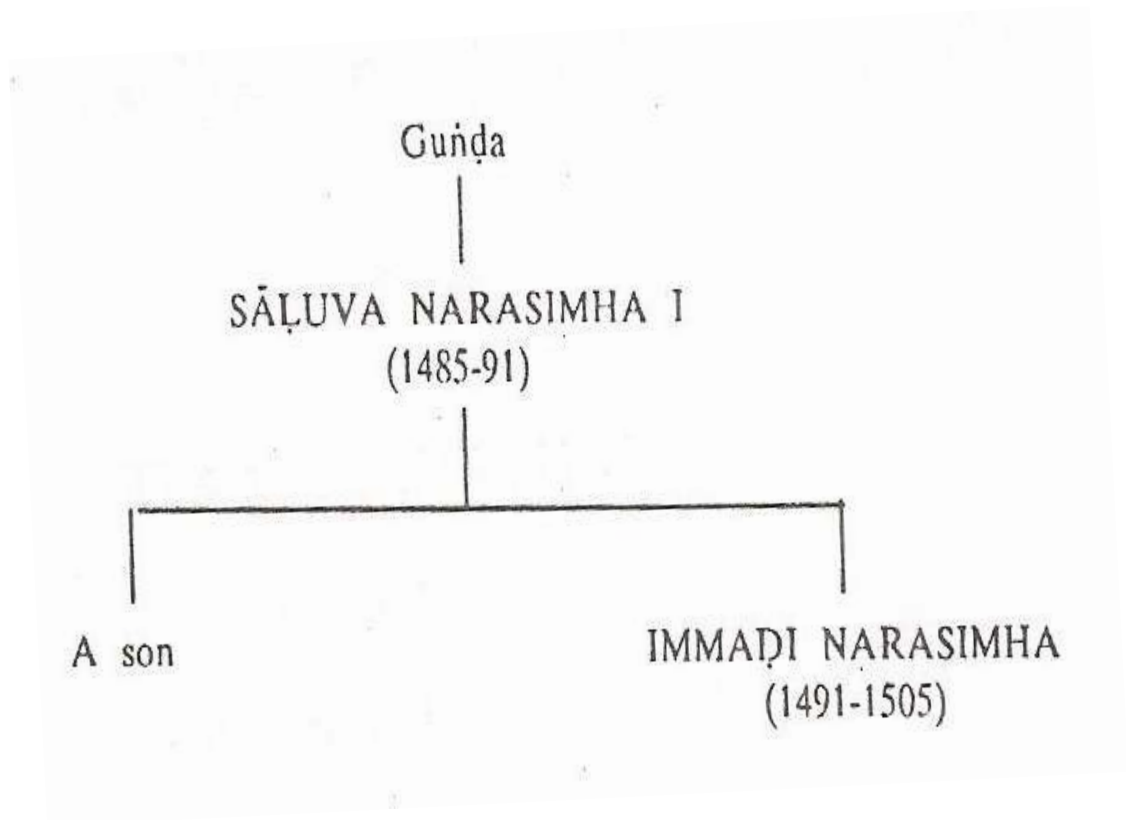
Hampi Temples Map



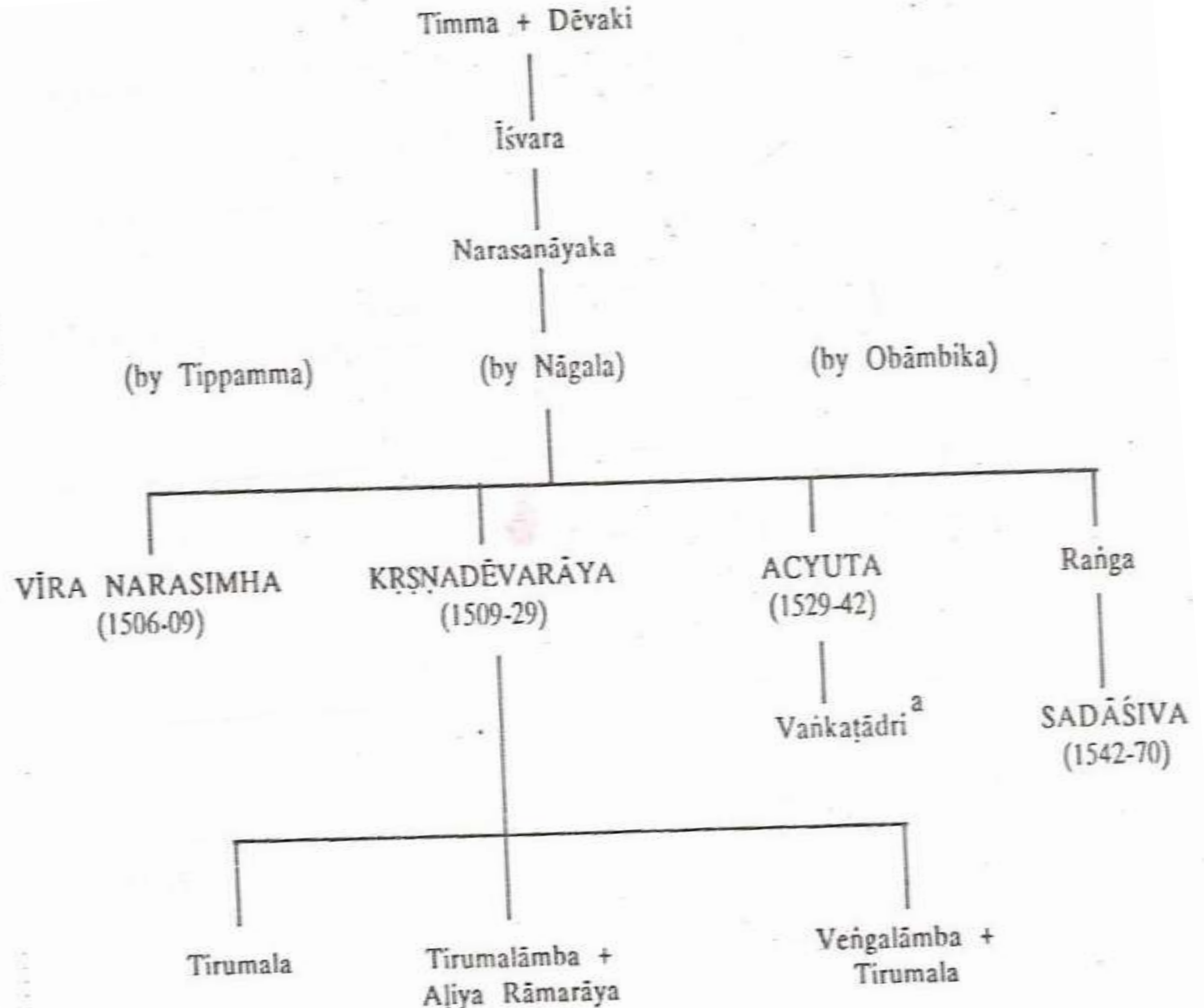
Vijayanagara Site Plan

GENEOLOGY OF VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTIES





SALUVA DYNASTY



TULUVA DYNASTY



Lord Venkatesa

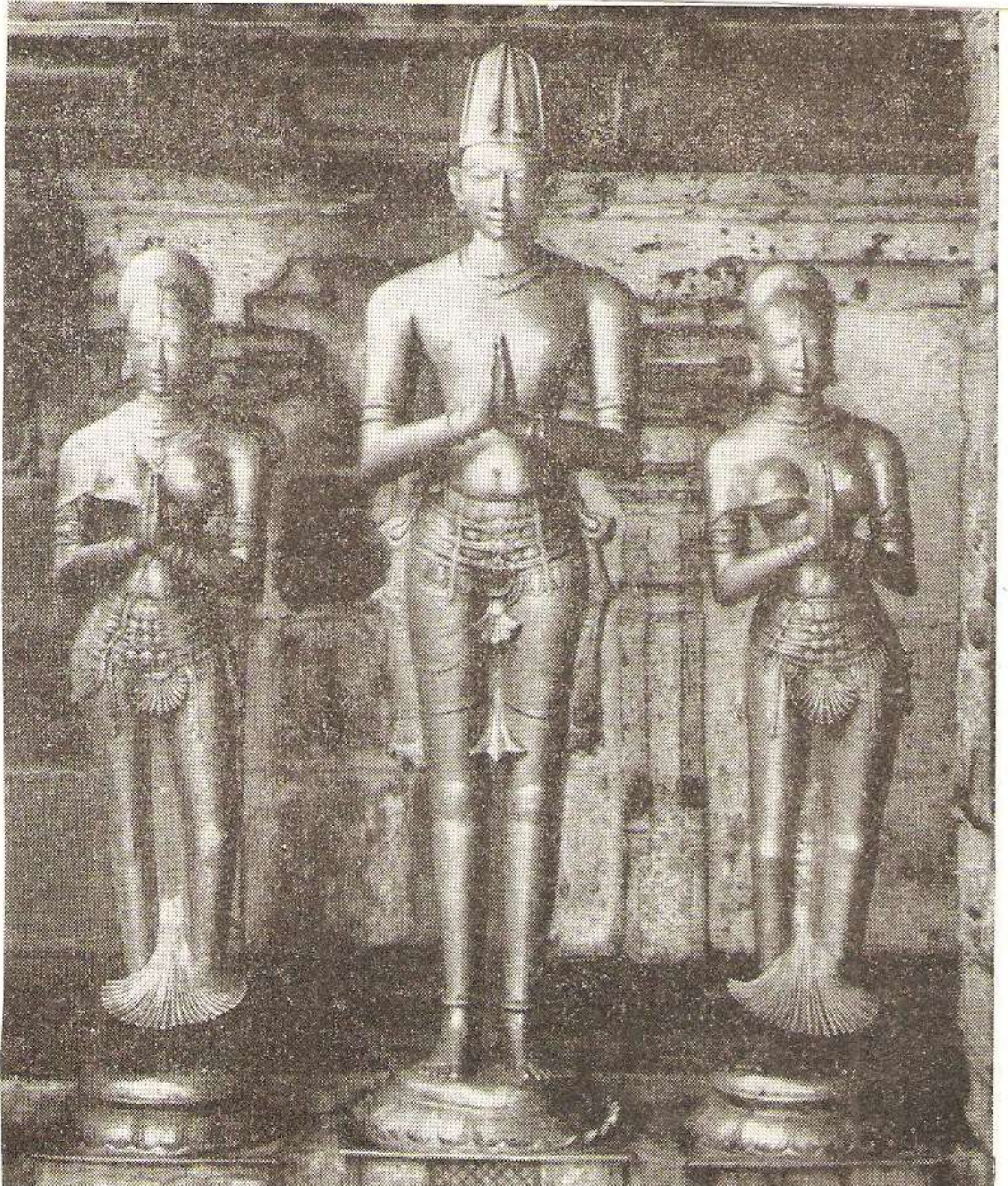


Boar crest of the Vijayanagar Kings on a pillar, Varadarajaperumal temple, Kanchipuram, Chingleput Dist.

VIJAYANAGARA METROPOLIS
ITS EXTENSIONS AND SUBURBS



Krishnadeva Raya



Bronze of Krishnadeva Raya and his Queens



Bronze of Tirumalaraya and his Queen



Bronze of Venkata



Virupaksha Temple



Hazara Rama Temple



Vithala Temple



Krishna Temple



Pattabi Rama temple



Kalyanamantapa, Anantapadmanabha Temple, Ananitashayanagudi



Gopudras, Tiruvengalanatha temple, Hampi



Tiruvengalanatha temple, Hampi



Inner gopura, Tiruvengalanatha Temple, Hampi



Raghunatha Temple



Jaina Temple Complex mar Pampapati temple



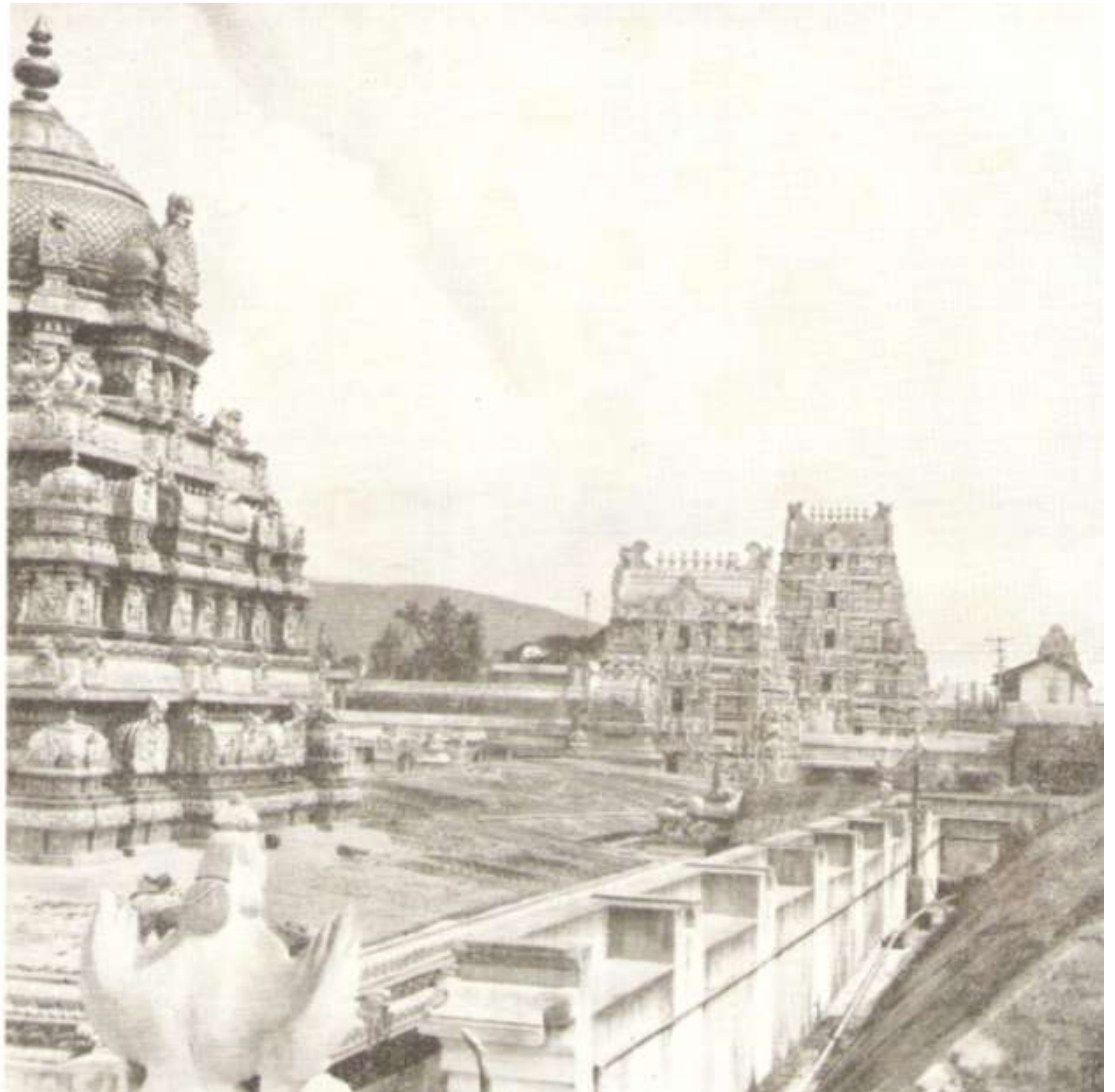
Dasavataras Tirupati



Two Big Bells kept in the Tirumamani Mandapa



Hundi of the Lord Tirpati



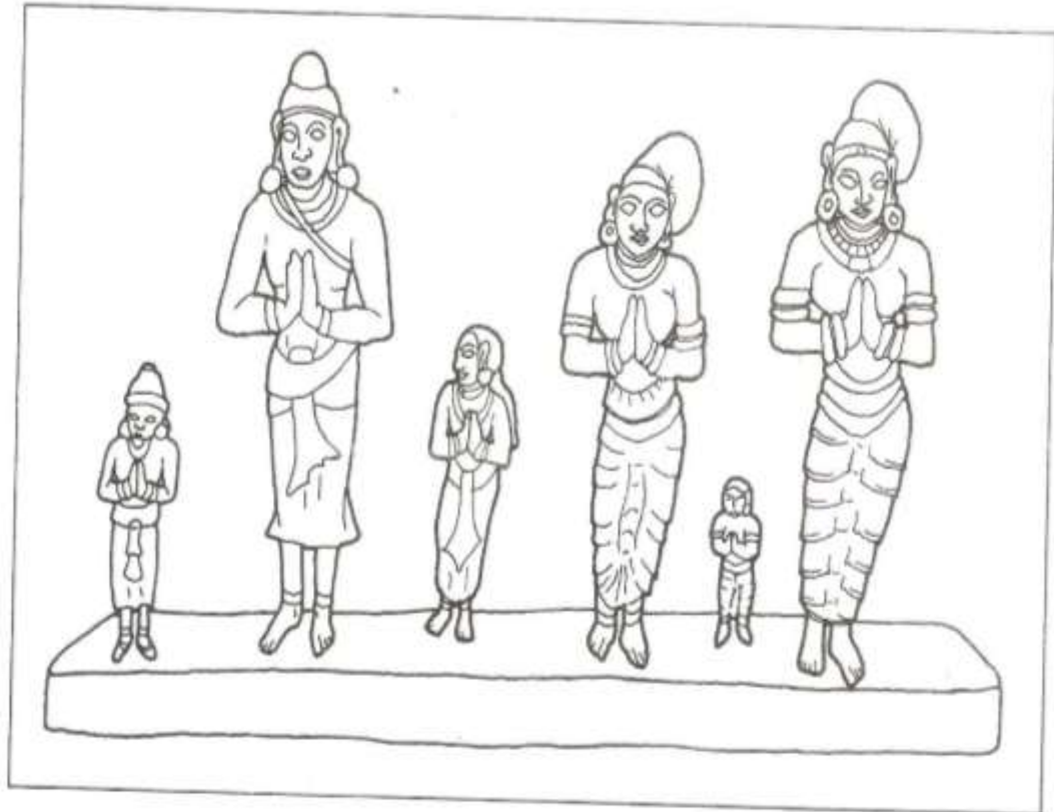
Aerial view of the main Vimana and Gopura from the backside



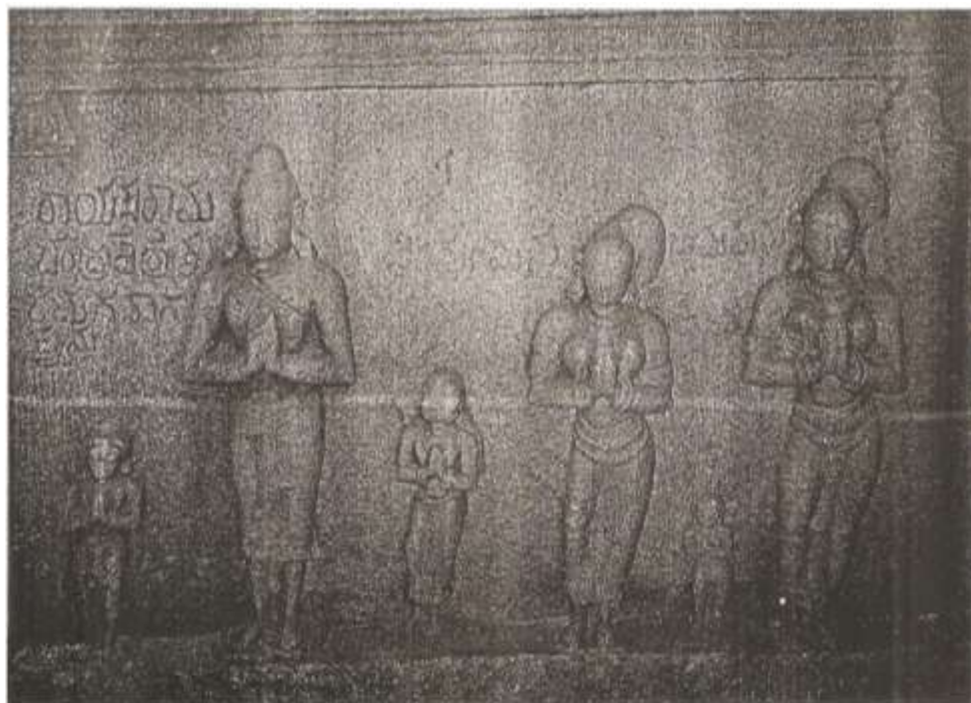
Mahanavamidibba



The Stepped Tank



Devotees



Rayasta Ramachandra Dikshita and family, carving in the big shrine at Koti-tirtha



Donor couple, relief on a boulder near the ten-armed Kali



Devotee, carving on a boulder near Chakratirha